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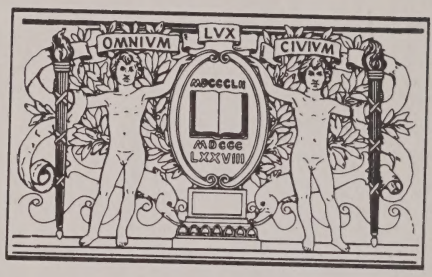

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. XIV.

NEW SERIES.

VOL. V.

BOSTON:

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. XXXIV.

NEW SERIES, No. IX.

E. Everett

JANUARY 1822.

ART. I.—*Poems by James G. Percival.* 12mo, pp. 346. New Haven, 1821.

IT happens to almost all men of superior talents, to have made an essay at poetry, in early life. Whatever direction be finally forced upon them, by strong circumstances or strong inclination, there is a period after the imagination is awakened, and the affections are excited, and before the great duties and cares of life begin, when almost all men of genius write a few lines, in the shape of a patriotic song, a sonnet by Julio in the magazine, or lines to some fair object. This is the natural outlet and expression of youthful enthusiasm and warmth; and young men are poetical at the same age and for the same reasons, that they are apt to be flighty in their characters, and imprudent in their conduct. Poetry of this kind is a little intellectual dissipation, which calls up a blush on the cheek of the veteran in some profession, after a twenty years' recollection, as a youthful foible is also remembered with regret; but neither the sin of morals nor of taste is set down among the unpardonable. Certain forward young men moreover try their hand at almost every thing. Not that they have no prevailing taste, which will finally disclose itself for some one pursuit; and not because they are even now incapable of confining themselves to a manly choice of an occupation; but, like the generous ancients, they feel a lively interest in all the efforts of the understanding; and so when their zeal happens

to be excited by passion within, or nature without, or patriotic spirit, or any occasional impulse, it bursts out in poetry. Plato wrote verses when he was a young man, and wrote poetry always; but he had the discretion to burn his verses, and has raised his poetry to a higher strain, than any mere inspiration of the muse, by the admixture of a sublime philosophy. Cicero wrote poetry, but unluckily for his reputation he did not imitate Plato's example; and some of his verses have survived and betrayed themselves to the world. As a general rule, young men ought to be counselled to take Plato and not Cicero for their model on this occasion, and to commit carefully to the flames all this first species of poetry. Even if they have a strong poetical genius, it will rarely happen that these first flights will do it justice. If Virgil wrote the little pieces, which bear his name—Virgil, who in the severity of his judgment condemned the Æneid to the flames—what would be his mortification, could he return to life, to find the Culex, and the Copa, and the Moretum extant? Lord Byron would gladly have toiled many busy days to have redeemed his Hours of Idleness from the world's knowledge. The difficulty is, that this youthful poetry, which is very creditable to the young men and women who write it, which fills up a corner handsomely in a newspaper, helps on the periodical dulness of a magazine, and is a treasure to the happy *album*, which can boast of something *original*, is in reality a very different thing from that other native poetry, that sixth sense of the mind, that quicker perception, deeper thought, stronger feeling, prophetic warmth, vaster comprehension, and more glowing and expressive utterance, with which it is sometimes injuriously confounded. That it is different, witness all the *corpuses* of ancient and modern days, melancholy thesauruses of *minor* poets, (a phrase that commits suicide in its terms) sets of works in scores of volumes, containing under the sacred name of the Poets of a language, authors and the works of authors, of which the memory, the tradition would else be lost. These all thought themselves poets in their day. In the morning of life, their feelings were keen and lively. Well bred and well educated young men, they thought delicately on all subjects, and commanded a good flow of words out of the best books they had read; and when they had wrought up this cheap material into couplets and stanzas, and procured it the admiration of their friends and mistress, and accumulated it to a

volume's size, they ushered it into the world, a candidate for its favour.

Many productions, to which it would be paying an extravagant compliment to apply even the foregoing remarks, are daily appearing among us, and it becomes a delicate question with all conscientious, patriotic, and good natured critics in what manner they should be noticed. These authors, for obvious reasons, are commonly of that class of the *genus irritabile vatum*, who have more of the irritabile than of the vatum in their composition; and the better they are as moderate poets, the more unpromising is their condition, and the more infallibly are they involved in that sad but most oracular sentence,

Mediocribus esse poetis
Non homines, non Di, non concessere columnæ.

We say our duty in relation to the productions we allude to is delicate, for they are a species of thing, which our canons do not recognize. They cannot come into our court with any claim whatever. Pretty good poetry is no poetry at all. This the misguided aspirants themselves feel. Authors in most other departments think it a satisfactory praise, if they are admitted to have done as well, as their talents and means permit. But to say that poetry is not excellent is a proposition which nullifies itself; it is to deny under the tender saving of an accident, that which is essential to the substance. For this reason, most young men are glad to write their poetry, as they sow their wild oats; and think as little of building a permanent literary character on one, as a moral character on the other. But the season, while it lasts, is one of such flourish and restless excitement, there is such a bustle made about the moon and field-flowers, and nature and passion; and the whole circle of friends, acquaintances, and neighbours is kept in such an uneasy stir while the fit is on, and above all the unhappy critics are so *beteased* for their suffrage, then so denounced by the poet if it is adverse, and by the public if it is favourable, that for ourselves we carry a young and promising countryman through his poetry, with much the sort of feeling that a prudent mother carries her children through the measles, and are glad if he has had it well.

These remarks are extorted from us by the present state of the American Parnassus. No species of mental effort appears to have been so attractive, of late, in our community as the

poetical; the trunk-makers can bear us witness. The most unhappy circumstance is, that a good deal of this poetry has been quite respectable, and such as in the time and place which elicited it, would have done its authors credit; nay, of which, without a complimentary overrating, a critic might speak as hopefully, as of the majority of political pamphlets, of voyages and travels, and the journals thereof, which have been appearing simultaneously from our press. Did we however say this, did we, in reviewing such poems, observe that they discovered laudable industry, that the author had spared no pains to make them good, that we gave him credit for an intense labour bestowed on every line, that he had consulted all the preceding poets, and borrowed from them every thing which his subject admitted, that he had evinced a praiseworthy diffidence of his own powers, that there was not a couplet in his works which did not testify to a hopeful teachableness, and that in confining himself to the technical dialect of poetry, choosing no epithets but such as Pope had used before, making his heroes all corsairs, and his heroines all ladies of the lake, he was determined to approve himself as a painstaking, unpretending, and docile bard; did we say this, as we might with truth of most of our current poetry, we doubt whether the authors would even admit that we damned with faint praise. We have little question it would be set down as positive fault-finding and carping, and the old insipid changes be rung upon the injustice, the malignity, and stupidity of critics. Yet the same sort of praise would content a modest writer of almost any other description; and to be told that he had carefully studied, and faithfully followed his predecessors, would often be the highest commendation, which could be paid to an essay on ordinary topics of science and speculation. Unable, therefore, to give pleasure by honestly speaking our opinion and awarding that meed of qualified commendation which may be due, and not being particularly pleased to belie our consciences by so mean a submission as flattering poor poetry—of all poor things in the world—we have preserved a somewhat gloomy silence, with respect to many of the productions of our native bards. This silence has, we regret to say, been occasionally carried beyond its proper limits; and various causes, which will suggest themselves to those initiated into the mysteries of reviewing, have prevented our enjoying the greatest pleasure of our vocation, that of expressing our admiration of a few

charming pieces, which have appeared among us. We were singularly straightened between the desire to do credit to our pages by an honourable notice of Fanny, and the difficulty we felt in these remote and somewhat saturnine latitudes in entering, with true perception, into the local spirit and humour of that agreeable little poem. We cannot, however, suppress the hope that its just and merited success will invite the author to higher efforts, and encourage him to undertake a poetical composition of elevated pretensions.

We are consoled, morever, in our neglect of this and a few other pieces of genuine merit or great promise, which have appeared among us, by the consideration that of all faculties the poetical is the most independent; the least aided by applause, the least depressed by censure, the least capable of being obstructed or furthered by all that critics, of malign or benevolent aspect, can proclaim. If it dwell not in the native vivacity of the mind, you cannot create or quicken it, by the breath of fame; and if it really exist in native truth, tenderness, and power, all persecution that falls short of secluding it from pen, ink, and paper, instead of subduing, nourishes it; and, according to the temper of the individual, makes it pathetic or indignant or philosophical. Lord Byron's genius was unquestionably matured and kindled by the provoking reception of his first essays; and though Milton had fallen on evil days, and lived in a community prepared to purchase his Paradise Lost for ten pounds, it does not appear that his muse drooped a moment in the chilly atmosphere. On the contrary, we owe to it one of the sweetest strains of his heavenly lyre. So well established is it, that disappointment and sorrow are the nurse of poetical inspiration, that our philosophical statesman, in his Notes on Virginia, seriously mentions it as a circumstance that confirms the intellectual inferiority of the blacks. 'Misery,' he beautifully observes, 'is often the parent of the most affecting touches of poetry. Among the blacks is misery enough, God knows, but no poetry.'* Were the poets among us as miserable as their works, there would be some hope.

We are therefore quite sure no permanent injury is done to a poet of the true vein, by a temporary neglect of his productions. So far from this, we can name more than one living bard, in our own language, who, could he by any momentary insen-

* Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 274.

sibility of the public, have been forced in upon his resources, wrought or stung to higher efforts, to longer and more exalted vigils, would have consulted his permanent reputation. Lord Byron tells us in the letter reviewed in our last number, that, excepting Campbell and Rogers, all the living poets have written too much. Scott first proved this, and so much to his own conviction, that he has wholly ceased; and though we happen to be of the number who have read all his larger poetical works with delight, and have found on them all the impress of a poetical genius of the first order, yet the public was growing a-weary of so protracted a series of productions, which in the main were merely pleasing and lively, better, to be sure, of their kind than any body but their own author could write, but proved by the simple rapidity of their succession, to be beneath his own powers. Moreover, as the public interest began to flag in Scott, Byron urged it with so much intensity and assiduity, that it was the sooner exhausted, alike toward the one and the other; and though the adventurous cast of Byron's character and writings, have fixed the public interest longer upon him, than it appears to have dwelt on Scott, yet we presume the noble bard had felt the public pulse, and took warning, when on publishing one of the latest of his larger poems, he said that it was the last which for many years he should submit to the public.* Though it would have cost us the third and fourth cantos of Childe Harold, and Manfred, we are sorry he did not keep his word. This fatal popularity of his works, like the 'fatal facility,' as his lordship calls it, of the eight syllable verse, has betrayed both him and his poetical colleagues into the composition of more poetry, than they could finish in a style worthy of themselves.

Without pursuing this topic, we cannot but observe that we see no consideration of duty or patriotism, which calls on us to exert the little credit we may have with the public, in encouraging the multitude of indifferent poetical essays which are made among us. It is almost the only species of literature which practice and pains do not make perfect. It is the first duty of the critic to foster the science and literature of his

* In the dedication of the Corsair to Mr Moore in June 1814 his lordship says, 'I dedicate to you the last production with which I shall trespass on public patience, and your indulgence for some years; and I own that I feel anxious to avail myself of this latest and only opportunity of adorning my pages with a name,' &c.

country, and we can boldly appeal to our pages themselves for the proof, that we have been ready to go as far as conscience would let us, in encouraging every thing American. Where we could not commend positively, or augur favourably, we have been silent; and with all the indifferent and wretched trash, which is issuing from the American, as from every other free press, and out of which it would cost us no effort to enliven our heavy pages, and furnish many a gay interlude to our sober speculations; we cannot recal three instances, in which we have indulged in what most of our readers would think our bounden duty to them, that of saving them the trouble and cost of finding out the worthlessness of the productions in question. Farther than this, however, we shall not be carried on the lenient extreme. Apart from every consideration of duty, no kindness can be more treacherous than the encouragement given to ordinary verses called poetry. They lead to nothing good. Their author is but flattered the more deeply into his delusion, to be awakened at last more bitterly therefrom; while the credit of the public literature is suffering in the accumulation of these productions. The reasons which exist for encouraging moderate merit in other departments, really do not exist here; for moderate merit in poetry will not grow into excellence; and, as we have already said, the poetry that is not excellent is not worth any thing. The only result, on the most favourable supposition of this ill-judged kindness, is the production of such compositions as Barlow's Columbiad, a heavy epic, laboriously wrought out of an over-flattered occasional poem; a work which, as a poem, contains nothing of which an American can be proud, and which can have no effect but that of misleading the taste of the young at home, and the judgments which critics abroad entertain of our literature.

We fear it will be a characteristic of these remarks, which have swelled in length and formality beyond our original purpose, that, like most prefaces, they have little connexion with what is to follow them. The poems before us of Mr Percival appear to us to contain decided indications of genuine poetical talent. We have not the pleasure of knowing any thing of the author, beyond the showing of these his works, nor are we informed whether his vocation will continue to lead him along the flowery paths of the muses. Sure we are, however, that the little volume which he has presented us, contains the marks of an inspiration more lofty and genuine than any similar col-

lection of fugitive pieces, which has come to our notice from a native bard. We hope with this sincere tribute, we shall be excused for adding that the volume contains a great deal too much. It is not in human nature that so many small effusions from one hand, and produced within so short a compass of years, should all possess that *felicity*, which is the great charm of fugitive pieces. Every person gifted with a moderate share of invention, knows that it is easier to produce a performance of considerable compass and arrangement, than an equal amount in short pieces, of all of which the merit should be equally great. In a long piece our indulgence is extended to the feeble or colder portions if the production in the main, be good, but a *copy of verses*, which is ordinary, appears even to the greater disadvantage, for standing in better company. Moreover, we cannot conceive it worth while, for an author of Mr Percival's poetical powers to devote so much time to the accumulation of these small pieces. He must, we doubt not, possess, with the genius, the ambition of the true poet; and with this ambition, why should he not take up a theme of extended interest, and aim at a permanent poetical fame. It is true this collection contains one entire tragedy, written, it appears, at the age of nineteen and twenty years, but the least valuable part of the volume. It is hinted in the preface that it was written for an occasion, and it has all the appearances of being written *musâ invitâ*. The plot is without interest or probability, a cold imitation of the Revenge; and the language is tame and prosaic, and far beneath the glow of Mr Percival's other pieces. And though to be able to write any tragedy in blank verse be highly creditable to a young man of nineteen, yet he should remember that tragedy is not only, in the words of Milton, as it was anciently composed, 'the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems,' but also by far the most difficult of execution.

Of the smaller pieces which this volume contains, many have already attained uncommon popularity in the newspapers. In reading the whole series, the reader will find in them a great uniformity, and the constant recurrence of a technical poetical imagery, which is far from adding to their beauty, though a fault naturally enough incident to a large collection of little pieces, written without reference to each other. The following will afford a good specimen of our author's patriotic manner:

Ode on the emancipation of South America.

'Star of the southern pole—
That from the Atlantic deep
Rose, and on Andes' steep
Shone with a beacon-light,
And woke from moral night
The Spaniard's haughty soul!—
They started from their sleep, and tore
The chains that bound them to their tyrant's throne:
Uncheered, unaided, they alone
Their banner reared on Plata's shore,
And in the dawning light of Liberty
Swore they would live and die united, firm, and free.

Where rising o'er the silver tide,
That rolls its host of waters wide,
Resistless as a sea,
Fair shine their city's happy walls:
Convened within the sacred halls
Of infant Liberty,
They banded round their flag, and gave
Redemption to the fettered slave;
And o'er those plains like ocean spread,
And o'er their mountains' icy head,
And o'er their full majestic river,
And through their halls, their fanes, their towers,
They lit a flame, shall burn for ever;
Nor tyranny with all her powers,
Though battled in her *holy league*, shall dare
The statue they have reared from its high column tear.

Sister in freedom! o'er the main
We send our hearts to thee;
Oh! ne'er may kings and priests again
Stain with their steps thy flowery plain,
Nor vex the brave and free.
When earth beside was wrapped in night,
Here Freedom lit her quenchless light,
And hence its rays shall always beam,
And Europe yet shall hear the voice,
And wake from her inglorious dream,
And in her new-found strength rejoice.
In one fraternal band, let all
The nations, who would spurn the chains
That tyrants forge, would burst their thrall,

And wash away their servile stains,
And, proud of independent worth,
In honest dignity go forth;
Let all, who will not bow the knee,
Nor humbly kiss the trampling heel,
Who swear to perish or be free,
Unite, and draw their flashing steel,
And, proud and daring in their second birth,
Purge from its crowns and thrones the renovated earth.'

In the class of the amatory poems the following has seemed to us among the prettiest:

Star of my heart! thy light has gone,
A cloud has hid it from my view,
A night has come that has no dawn,
A storm I cannot struggle through;
For like a boatman on the deep,
Without a compass, or an oar,
Where wild winds howl and tempests sweep,
My life must still drift on, and find no port, no shore.

Well—I have toiled to reach a haven,
Where joy at length in peace might dwell,
And many a mountain billow *braven*,
Still drawn by thy bewitching spell:
It led me on through all that life
Had dark and cold and hard for me,
For still I hoped to end this strife,
And that my last bright days might sweetly flow with thee.

Thou smiledst a beacon on that shore,
Where fancy builds her airy bowers,
And gems her grots with sparkling ore,
And weaves her shady arch of flowers;
And I did hope thy light would shine,
And charm with beam more warm and bright,
And still I hoped its rays were mine—
A sullen cloud came o'er, and all was wrapped in night.

But though my course is lone and wild,
Through *booming* waves, and wreck, and sorrow,
I would be firm as when day smiled:
Beyond the grave, there shines a morrow.
Awhile chilled, harassed, dashed, and tost,
Through raging seas I plough my way
To some dark, undiscovered coast,
Where hope holds out no flag and mercy lights no ray.'

The little piece called Serenade is uncommonly graceful and airy; and though rather too long, we will extract it entire.

Softly the moonlight
Is shed on the lake,
Cool is the summer night—
Wake! O awake!
Faintly the curfew
Is heard from afar,
List ye! O list
To the lively guitar.

Trees cast a mellow shade
Over the vale,
Sweetly the serenade
Breathes in the gale,
Softly and tenderly
Over the lake,
Gaily and cheerily—
Wake! O awake!

See the light pinnace
Draws nigh to the shore,
Swiftly it glides
At the heave of the oar,
Cheerily plays
On its buoyant car,
Nearer and nearer
The lively guitar.

Now the wind rises
And ruffles the pine,
Ripples foam-crested
Like diamonds shine,
They flash where the waters
The white pebbles lave,
In the wake of the moon,
As it crosses the wave.

Bounding from billow
To billow, the boat
Like a wild swan is seen
On the waters to float;
And the light dipping oars
Bear it smoothly along
In time to the air
Of the gondolier's song.

And high on the stern
Stands the young and the brave,
As love-led he crosses
The star-spangled wave,
And blends with the murmur
Of water and grove
The tones of the night,
That are sacred to love.

His gold-hilted sword
At his bright belt is hung,
His mantle of silk
On his shoulder is flung,
And high waves the feather,
That dances and plays
On his cap where the buckle
And rosary blaze.

The maid from her lattice
Looks down on the lake,
To see the foam sparkle,
The bright billow break,
And to hear in his boat,
Where he shines like a star,
Her lover so tenderly
Touch his guitar.

She opens her lattice,
And sits in the glow
Of the moonlight and star-light,
A statue of snow;
And she sings in a voice,
That is broken with sighs,
And she darts on her lover
The light of her eyes.

His love-speaking pantomime
Tells her his soul—
How wild in that sunny clime
Hearts and eyes roll.
She waves with her white hand
Her white fazzolet,
And her burning thoughts flash
From her eyes' living jet.

The moonlight is hid
In a vapour of snow!

Her voice and his rebeck
Alternately flow;
Re-echoed they swell
From the rock on the hill;
They sing their farewell,
And the music is still.'

Our limits do not permit us to make a farther selection of the smaller pieces. Besides them, the volume contains the tragedy, of which we have already spoken; some miscellaneous poems in a more sustained and elevated character; and Prometheus, a discursive and philosophical poem, in a hundred and sixty two stanzas of the Spenserian measure. This seems to us—though highly unequal—the most vigorous and powerful poetry which the volume contains. Not a few of these verses have all the dark sententiousness of Byron, clothed in an uncommonly easy versification. The following will, we think, justify the remark:

CXLVI.

'The past is gone—it can return no more,
The dew of life exhaled, its glory set;
It has no other goods for me in store,
It is a dreary wilderness, and yet
I fondly look and linger. In the net
Of pleasure, all the breathings of my soul,
The burning thoughts alone on learning set
In tender childhood, pointed to the goal,
Where bards and sages aimed, in youth blind leaders stole,

CXLVII.

'And vile companions rifled, and they left
My heart dispirited and sunk and poor,
Of all its highest hopes and wants bereft,
A pinnace on the waves with naught to moor
Or bind it to the safe bank; from the shore,
Where my best powers stood weeping o'er the deep,
Tossing and madly heaving, wild winds bore
My dark, distracted being, where fiends keep
Their orgies, and the worm, that gnaws, will never sleep.

CLXVIII.

There is no hope—ten years the winds have blown,
That bore me to my ruin, and the waves
Roll in my wake like mountains—joy has flown,
And left behind the lonely turfless graves

Of early fond attachments. Like the slaves
Bound fettered to the galley, at the oar
Still must I toil uncheered, or in the caves,
Where not a ray of hope comes, I must pour
Tears, bitter tears, that well from the heart's bleeding core.

CXLIX.

The soul, that had its home with me, was bright,
Its early promise as the flowers of spring,
Profuse in richness as the dawning light,
When the gay rosy-footed hours take wing,
And from the glowing east the coursers spring,
That bear the car of day along its road,
And o'er a waking world their radiance fling—
So bright the stream of mind within me flowed,
It had one only wish—to scale the high abode,

CL.

Where Truth has reared her awful throne, and pure
Platonic Beauty sits, a smiling bride,
The Majesty that bows, and to allure,
The winning charms of Virtue by his side—
Cursed be the drawling pedants, who divide
The monarch from his lovely queen, and sink
The soul in stupid awe, too soon to hide
Its coward head in pleasure's lap and drink
Her tempting fiery draughts—Stop! ye are on the brink

CLI.

Of endless woe and ruin—

CLVI.

To feel a heart within thee, tender, flowing
In tears at others' pain, and racked with thine;
A soul, that longs for high attainments, glowing
For all that can ennoble, raise, refine,
Whose dearest longings seem almost divine,
The insatiate grasp for knowledge, and the aim
Of tireless, fearless virtue, then to pine,
Unknown, unvalued, and to quench the flame
Of mind in some low slough, and bid farewell to fame:' &c.

The Prometheus, like most of the other pieces, breathes a melancholy spirit too deep not to be real. We should sincerely regret that powers, so fine as Mr Percival evidently posses-

ses, should want that self-consciousness, which they ought to inspire, or should feel a doubt of that public favour, they so truly deserve: and though he probably does not rely on any thing he has yet written, as giving him a fair title to the rank of a classical American poet, yet we feel no hesitation in saying, that he shares with few the gifts, which might make him one.

ART. II.—*Views of Society and Manners in America; in a series of letters from that country to a friend in England, during the years* 1818, 1819 *and* 1820. *By an English-woman. From the first London edition, with additions and corrections by the author.* 8vo, pp. 387. New York, 1821.

E. Everett

THIS work has been so extensively read in America, that a review of it, at the present time, may seem unnecessary. As it forms, however, in many respects a contrast with other works of the same class, and is distinguished for its flattering tone toward our country, it might seem a failure in respect to so courteous a foreigner, to allow her work to pass unnoticed. We cannot, at the same time, but feel ourselves under much embarrassment in speaking of it. Like all human productions, it has, of course, its imperfections; but as American critics, it would seem a piece of rudeness to be at pains to gather up these, from the pages in which our character, manners, and institutions are so advantageously portrayed. On the other hand, our country, not to say our own poor labours, is so handsomely eulogized by this polite stranger, that we should be thought perhaps to speak under prepossession, if we were very forward in maintaining the merits of her book.

We know not, in fact, a less enviable task than that of the traveller, who undertakes to publish an account of a short visit to a foreign country, and feels at all concerned for the reception his book may meet with in that country. It is impossible in a short visit, or even in a long *visit*, to become so thoroughly acquainted with a country, considerably different in character from your own, as not to be constantly exposed to mistakes in detailed statements of its peculiarities. Then the traveller, who is well received, falls into some circle, which has its local or political party; he becomes imbued with their feelings, and

takes up their notions, regarding them of course as better informed than himself, of what relates to their own country. In doing this, however, he will often go to great excess, and fall into much falser judgments, than even the most embittered party at home bears of its rival. He has none of that feeling of brotherhood to correct his political or sectarian creed, which unconsciously operates on the mind of those, who live in the same town, perhaps the same street, are associated in the same institutions, and worship in the same church; and who, though they call each other, in their speeches and essays, incendiaries, traitors, and hirelings, know, after all in their souls, that their neighbours are about as good people as themselves. But the foreigner is not in the way of making such allowance. He lands among us, falls into some circle, good or bad, as the case may be, hears them speak in strong terms of their party adversaries, is able to make none of that secret qualification, which the citizens of the same community make for each other amidst all their railings, and so is often led away to be-rate honest people, who are far from deserving it, especially at his hands. It is in this way, that we are led to account for the peculiar ferocity, which party politics have assumed in the hands of those active foreigners, who have from time to time found a welcome on our shores, and who have espoused our controversies with a more than native zeal. It is in this way also, that we account for the extraordinary warmth, with which the amiable author of this work speaks of a certain class of our own citizens, of whom she could know no harm, but by reports likely to be exaggerated, whose capital was not favoured with a visit from her, and who, we doubt not, contribute a fair proportion toward that class of persons, whom she would herself regard as constituting the enlightened and respectable part of the American community. We allude to passages like these:

'There was one quarter of this great confederacy which had hitherto exhibited a lamentable deficiency of patriotism.

'The conduct of some of the New England states at the opening of the contest is not very easy to explain. That Massachusetts, who thirty years before had led the van in the army of patriots, whose cause too it was that her sister states so generously advocated, that she should suddenly so forget her former self, as to stand by, a sullen spectator of a conflict which involved the honour and national existence of the great republic, of which till now she had formed so distinguished a member, seems at once the most

extraordinary and lamentable dereliction of principle to be found in the annals of nations! She appears to have been made the dupe of a party, whose name, until this time, had been respected even by the nation from whom it stood aloof, and then to have been angry because others saw this, and laughed at her cullibility.

'Among the first Federals, there were men no less respectable for their virtues than their talents; but these had gradually fallen off from the minority, to mingle themselves with the bulk of the nation, leaving only the old tories and some disappointed politicians, to disgrace a title which patriots had worn, and under its specious mask to attempt the ruin of their country. In this, fortunately they failed; but may the lesson prove a warning not to Massachusetts only, but to each and all of these confederated states!

'I have already had occasion to observe upon the change wrought by the last war in the condition of the republic; it not only settled its place among the nations, but cemented its internal union; even those who from party ill humour had refused their concurrence with the measures of government, and their sympathy in the feelings of their fellow-citizens, were gradually warmed by the enthusiasm that surrounded them, or by the pressure of common danger, forced to make common cause. At the close of the contest, one general feeling pervaded the whole great Union. The name of a party once respectable, but now disgraced by itself, became universally odious; and its members, to rise from the contempt into which they had fallen, found it advisable to declare their own conversion to the principles of popular government and federal union.' pp. 261, 262.

Now our fair traveller could not by any possibility *know* this to be true. She was not in America till three or four years after the period, at which she says the parties coalesced; she did not visit New England; nor did she even make herself, by reading, so familiar with our great political controversy, as to know even the names of the parties; else she would not have used the word *Federals*, the vulgarism for Federalists, and which is in about as good company in America, as *oppositioners* would be in England. These things being so, she could have no idea of the policy and patriotism of the Federal party, but from what she was informed by her friends here. We have no doubt they told her what they honestly believed to be true. But let us just reverse the case, and suppose that an American lady travelling in England, in preparing her journal for the press, and wishing to give a sketch of the political parties, should apply to some leading ministerial member, to know

what he thought, on the whole, of the opposition party, and the expediency of forming a new cabinet, with Mr Tierney at the head. We are content to leave the case with this parallel to our fair visitant's candour, and feel quite sure, that though she and her friends may deny the justice of our argument, they will not call in question the good nature, with which we state it. We are aware how difficult it is to find a way of obtaining correct general views of the political relations of foreign countries; but we know that it is not the way, to take a zealous side with either of the parties in those controversies, where both are sure to be more or less in the wrong;—or equally in the right.

Another passage in this lady's work will illustrate the difficulty to which we allude, and show her that even while making a deliberate correction of another, there is no security from committing as great an error as you rectify. Having observed that she 'must here refute a strange assertion, which she has seen in many foreign journals, namely, that the United States' government is chargeable with the diffusion of black slavery,' she adds the following note:

'One of the most extravagant blunders of this kind I lately found in M'Kensie's History of America; a work comprising much valuable topographical and statistical information upon the subject of the United States; but containing a compilation of the most contradictory and positively ludicrous portraits of their moral character (to those at least who have any personal acquaintance with it) that has yet come under my eye. The passage I allude to is the following: "Negro slavery has spread its baleful effects over a great part of the Union. Some writers, particularly Englishmen, who would wish to represent the states as a second Arcadia, have offered an apology for this detestable practice, by contending, that it formed *a part of the policy of the colonial system;* but this excuse does not apply to the *new* states; for the congress has resigned the inhabitants of these vast regions to its demoralizing effects." Now were this all that stood between the United States and a second Arcadia, they would be much nearer a terrestrial paradise than I had imagined. *Not a single one of the new states* that has grown up under the jurisdiction of the congress, but has been *positively* and *absolutely* saved by its laws from slavery in any shape or form whatsoever. *It would save some mistakes, if authors would read the laws of foreign countries, before they write about them.*' p. 288.

Now, leaving the merits of the Missouri question out of view,

to which this lady alludes, and of the fate of which she was aware, how could she have read even one of the formal speeches made in the House of Representatives, while this question was pending, without becoming acquainted with many examples, in direct contradiction to her assertion; an assertion which, as every American knows, is true only of the states formed out of the territory north-west of the Ohio.

But we have swerved from our purpose, even in this allusion, which is intended to be any thing but unkind, towards some of the little blemishes in our fair champion's work; and we commend a number of little errors in names, persons, and facts, to that grateful indulgence, which so friendly a spirit ought to awaken in the American reader. The work is in fact an eulogium on our country and its character; a panegyric of the warmest cast. The discreet citizen will place it before him as the model, toward which he should strive to bring his country, rather than as a tablet of actual perfections, of which in every case he has now a right to boast. Though many of the observations of this lady take a wide range, her actual travels in the country were not extensive, having been bounded, if we have rightly remarked, by Washington on the south, and New York on the east; including a tour to Niagara through the western part of New York, and the return to that city, by the way of Lake Champlain. The tour to Niagara is one of the best portions of the book, and we cannot but think the following extracts will afford great pleasure to those few of our readers, who have not already possessed themselves of the entire work. After some glowing remarks on the approach to the fall, our eloquent tourist continues as follows:

'It is but an inconsiderable portion of this imprisoned sea which flows on the American side; but even this were sufficient to fix the eye in admiration. Descending the ladder (now easy steps) and approaching to the foot of this lesser Fall, we were driven away blinded, breathless, and smarting, the wind being high and blowing right against us. A young gentleman, who incautiously ventured a few steps farther, was thrown upon his back, and I had some apprehension, from the nature of the ground upon which he fell, was seriously hurt; he escaped, however, from the blast, upon hands and knees, with a few slight bruises. Turning a corner of the rock (where, descending less precipitously, it is wooded to the bottom) to recover our breath, and wring the water from our hair and clothes, we saw, on lifting our eyes, a corner of the summit of this graceful division of the cataract hanging

above the projecting mass of trees, as it were in mid air, like the snowy top of a mountain. Above, the dazzling white of the shivered water was thrown into contrast with the deep blue of the unspotted heavens; below, with the living green of the summer foliage, fresh and sparkling in the eternal shower of the rising and falling spray. The wind, which for the space of an hour, blew with some fury, rushing down with the river, flung showers of spray from the crest of the fall. The sun's rays, glancing on these big drops, and sometimes on feathery streams thrown fantastically from the main body of the water, transformed them into silvery stars, or beams of light; while the graceful rainbow, now arching over our heads, and now circling in the vapour at our feet, still flew before us as we moved. The greater division of the cataract was here concealed from our sight by the dense volumes of vapour which the wind drove with fury across the immense basin directly towards us; sometimes indeed a veering gust parted for a moment the thick clouds, and partially revealed the heavy columns, that seemed more like fixed pillars of moving emerald, than living sheets of water. Here, seating ourselves at the brink of this troubled ocean, beneath the gaze of the sun, we had the full advantage of a vapour bath; the fervid rays drying our garments one moment, and a blast from the basin drenching them the next. The wind at length having somewhat abated, and the ferryman being willing to attempt the passage, we here crossed in a little boat to the Canada side. The nervous arm of a single rower stemmed this heavy current, just below the basin of the Falls, and yet in the whirl occasioned by them; the stormy north-west at this moment chafing the waters yet more. Blinded as we were by the columns of vapour which were driven upon us, we lost the panoramic view of the cataract, which, in calmer hours, or with other winds, may be seen in this passage. The angry waters, and the angry winds together, drove us farther down the channel than was quite agreeable, seeing that a few rods more, and our shallop must have been whirled into breakers, from which ten such arms as those of its skilful conductor could not have redeemed it.

'Being landed two-thirds of a mile below the cataract, a scramble, at first very intricate, through, and over, and under huge masses of rock, which occasionally seemed to deny all passage, and among which our guide often disappeared from our wandering eyes, placed us at the foot of the ladder by which the traveller descends on the Canada side. From hence a rough walk along a shelving ledge of loose stones brought us to the cavern formed by the projection of the ledge over which the water rolls, and which is known by the name of the Table Rock.

'The gloom of this vast cavern, the whirlwind that ever plays

in it, the deafening roar, the vast abyss of convulsed waters beneath you, the falling columns that hang over your head, all strike, not upon the ears and eyes only, but upon the heart. For the first few moments, the sublime is wrought to the terrible. This position, indisputably the finest, is no longer one of safety. A part of the Table Rock fell last year, and in that still remaining, the eye traces an alarming fissure, from the very summit of the projecting ledge over which the water rolls ; so that the ceiling of this dark cavern seems rent from the precipice, and whatever be its hold, it is evidently fast yielding to the pressure of the water. You cannot look up to this crevice, and down upon the enormous masses which lately fell, with a shock mistaken by the neighbouring inhabitants for that of an earthquake, without shrinking at the dreadful possibility which might crush you beneath ruins, yet more enormous than those which lie at your feet.

'The cavern formed by the projection of this rock, extends some feet behind the water, and, could you breathe, to stand behind the edge of the sheet were perfectly easy. I have seen those who have told me they have done so : for myself, when I descended within a few paces of this dark recess, I was obliged to hurry back some yards to draw breath. Mine to be sure are not the best of lungs, but theirs must be little short of miraculous, that can play in the wind and foam that gush from the hidden depths of this watery cave. It is probable, however, that the late fracture of the rock has considerably narrowed this recess; and thus increased the force of the blast that meets the intruder.

'From this spot, (beneath the Table Rock,) you *feel*, more than from any other, the height of the cataract, and the weight of its waters. It seems a tumbling ocean ; and you yourself, what a helpless atom amid these vast and eternal workings of gigantic nature! The wind had now abated, and what was better, we were now under the lee, and could admire its sport with the vapour, instead of being blinded by it. From the enormous basin, into which the waters precipitate themselves in a clear leap of one hundred and forty feet, the clouds of smoke rose in white volumes, like the round-headed clouds you have sometimes seen in the evening horizon of a summer sky, and then shot up in pointed pinnacles, like the ice of mountain *glacières*. Caught by the wind, it was now borne down the channel, then, re-collecting its strength, the tremulous vapour again sought the upper air, till, broken and dispersed in the blue serene, it spread against it the only silvery veil which spotted the pure azure. In the centre of the Fall, where the water is the heaviest, it takes the leap in an unbroken mass of the deepest green, and in many places reaches the bottom in crystal columns of the same hue, till they meet the snow-white foam that heaves and rolls convulsedly in the enor-

mous basin. But for the deafening roar, the darkness and the stormy whirlwind in which we stood, I could have fancied these massy volumes the walls of some fairy palace—living emeralds chased in silver. Never surely did nature throw together so fantastically so much beauty with such terrific grandeur. Nor let me pass without notice the lovely rainbow, that, at this moment, hung over the opposing division of the cataract as parted by the island, embracing the whole breadth in its span. Midway of this silvery screen of shivered water, stretched a broad belt of blazing gold and crimson, into which the rainbow dropped its hues, and seemed to have *based* its arch. Different from all other scenes of nature that have come under my observation, the cataract of Niagara is seen to most advantage under a powerful and opposing sun: the hues assumed by the vapour are then by far the most varied and brilliant; and of the beauty of these hues I can give you no idea. The gloom of the cavern (for I speak always as if under the Table Rock) needs no assistance from the shade of evening; and the terrible grandeur of the whole is not felt the less for being distinctly seen. We now ascended the precipice on the Canada side, and, having taken a long gaze from the Table Rock, sought dry clothes and refreshment at a neighbouring inn.

'We have again visited this wonder of nature in our return from lake Erie; and have now gazed upon it in all lights, and at all hours,—under the rising meridian, and setting sun, and under the pale moon, when

"Riding in her highest noon."

'The edge of the Table Rock is not approached without terror at the latter hour. The fairy hues are now all gone; excepting, indeed, the rainbow, which, the ghost of what it was, now spans a dark impervious abyss. The rays of the sweet planet but feebly pierce the chill dense vapour that clogs the atmosphere; they only kiss, and *coldly* kiss, the waters at the brink, and faintly show the upper half of the columns, now black as ebony, plunging into a storm-tossed sea of murky clouds, whose depth and boundaries are alike unseen. It is the storm of the elements in chaos. The shivering mortal stands on the brink, like the startled fiend

"On the bare outside of this world,
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air."

"La buja campagna
Tremò si forte, che dello spavento
La mente di sudore ancor mi bagna."

pp. 175—180.

The description of the destruction of the steam boat Phœnix, on lake Champlain, is also done with the pen of a powerful mistress:

'One of the finest steam-boats ever built in the United States lately ran upon this inland sea, and was destroyed, ten days since, by fire, in a manner truly terrible. The captain of the vessel had fallen sick, and entrusted its management to his son, a young man just turned of one-and-twenty. Making for St John's with upwards of forty passengers, they encountered the equinoctial gale, which blew with violence right ahead. The fine vessel, however, encountered it bravely, and dashed onwards through the storm, until, an hour after midnight, she had gained the broadest part of the lake. Some careless mortal, who had been to seek his supper in the pantry, left a candle burning on a shelf, which, after some time, caught another which was ranged above.

'The passengers were asleep, or at least quiet in their births, when a man at the engine perceived, in some dark recess of the vessel, an unusual light. Approaching the spot, he heard the crackling of fire, and found the door of the pantry a glowing and tremulous wall of embers. He had scarcely time to turn himself, ere he was enveloped in flames; rushing past them, he attempted to burst into the ladies' apartment by a small door which opened into the interior of the vessel: it was locked on the inside, and the noise of the storm seemed to drown all his cries and blows. Hurrying upon the deck, he gave the alarm to the captain, and flew to the women's cabin. Ere he leaped down the stairs, the flames had burst through the inner door, and had already seized upon the curtains of the bed next to it. You may conceive the scene which followed.

'In the mean time the young captain roused his crew and his male passengers, warning the pilot to make for the nearest island. Summoning his men around him, and stating to them that all the lives on board could not be saved in the boats, he asked their consent to save the passengers, and to take death with him. All acquiesced unanimously; and hastened to let down the boats. While thus engaged, the flames burst through the decks, and shrouded the pilot, the mast, and the chimney, in a column of flames. The helmsman, however, held to the wheel, until his limbs were scorched and his clothes half consumed upon his back. The unusual heat round the boiler gave a redoubled impetus to the engine. The vessel dashed madly through the waters, until she was within a few roods of land. The boats were down, and the captain and his men held the shrieking women and children in their arms, when the helm gave way, and the vessel, turning from the wind flew backwards, whirling round and round from the shore. None could approach to stop the engine; its fury, however, soon spent itself, and left the flaming wreck to the mercy only of the winds and waves. With dreadful struggles the naked passengers got into the boats, and received the women and child-

ren from the hands of the captain and the crew, who, while the flames whirled over their heads, refused the solicitations to enter the overburdened barks, and pushed them off from the fire which had nearly caught their sides. It was now discovered that one woman and a youth of sixteen had been forgotten. Hurrying them to the windward of the flames, the youth was bound to a plank, and a skilful swimmer of the crew leapt with him into the lake. The captain, holding the frantic woman in his arms, stood upon the edge of the scorching and crackling wreck, until he saw the last of his companions provided with a spar, and committed to the waters; then, throwing from him with one arm a table which he had before secured for the purpose, and with the other grasping his charge, he sprang into the waves. The poor woman, mad with terror, seized his throat as he placed and held her upon the table; forced to disengage himself, she was borne away by the waves; he tried to follow, and saw her for the last time clinging to a burning mass of the vessel. One last shriek, and the poor creature was whelmed in flood and fire. Swimming round the blazing hulk, and calling aloud to such of his companions as might be within hearing, to keep near it, he watched for the falling of a spar. He seized one while yet on fire, and, quenching it, continued to float round the wreck, deeming that the light might be a signal, should the boats be able to return; but these had to row, heavily laden, six miles through a mountainous sea. It was long before they could make the land, and that, leaving their helpless freight naked on the shore of a desert island, in the dark and tempestuous night, they turned to seek the drowning heroes.

'The day broke while they were labouring against the roaring elements, seeking in vain the extinguished beacon that was to guide their search; at length a blackened atom appeared upon the top of a wave; stretched upon it was a human figure. It was, I rejoice to say, the young captain—senseless, but the generous soul not quite departed. He is alive and doing well. One other of these devoted men was picked up late in the morning, and wondrously restored to life, after having been eight hours swimming and floating on the water. Seven perished.

'The citizens of Burlington hastened with clothing and provisions to the sufferers on the island; took them to their homes; and nursed them with affectionate solicitude.

'The blackened wreck of the Phœnix is now lying, in the midst of the lake, upon a reef of rocks, to which it was drifted by the storm.' pp. 216—219.

We hope by this time we have furnished all our readers with the means of forming an adequate idea of the nature of this work. We shall therefore venture upon only one more

extract, describing a scene which we can vouch to be truly American, as we have ourselves witnessed it, in all its essentials, within six miles of Boston :

'The mode in which the contents of the post-bag are usually distributed through the less populous districts had often before amused me. I remember, when taking a cross cut in a queer sort of a caravan, bound for some settlement on the southern shore of lake Erie, observing, with no small surprise, the operations of our charioteer; a paper flung to the right hand, and anon a paper flung to the left, where no sight or sound bespoke the presence of human beings. I asked if the bears were curious of news; upon which I was informed, that there was a settler in the neighbourhood, who ought to have been on the lookout, or some of his children for him. "But when I don't find them ready, I throw the paper under a tree; and I warrant you they'll look sharp enough to find it; they're always curious of news in these wild parts;" and curious enough they seemed, for not a cabin did we pass, that a newspaper was not flung from the hand of this enlightener of the wilderness. Occasionally making a halt at some solitary dwelling, the post-bag and its guardian descended together, when, if the assistance of the farmer, who here acted as postmaster, could be obtained, the whole contents of the mail were discharged upon the ground, and all hands and eyes being put in requisition, such letters as might be addressed to the surrounding district, were scrambled out from the heap; which, being then again scrambled together, was once more shaken into the leathern receptacle, and thrown into the wagon; but it sometimes happened, that the settler was from home. On one occasion, I remember, neither man, woman, nor child, was to be found; the stage-driver whistled and hallooed, walked into the dwelling, and through the dwelling, sprang the fence, traversed the field of maize, and shouted into the wood; but all to no purpose. Having resumed his station, and set his horses in motion, I inquired how the letters were to find their destination, seeing that we were carrying them along with us, heaven knew where? "Oh! they'll keep in the country any how; it is likely indeed, they may go down the Ohio, and make a short tour of the states; this has happened sometimes; but it is a chance but they get to Washington at last; and then they'll commence a straight course anew, and be safe here again this day twelvemonth may be, or two years at farthest."

'At Carthage we found the postmaster very naturally fast asleep; after much clatter against his door and wooden walls, he made his appearance with a candle, and, according to custom, the whole contents of the mail were discharged upon the floor.

The poor Carthaginian rubbed his eyes, as he took up one letter after another from the heap before him; but his dreams seemed still upon him. "Not a letter can I see," he exclaimed, as he again rubbed his eyes, and snuffed his candle. "Friend, lend me your eyes, or you may just take the whole load away with you." "I am none of the best at deciphering handwriting," replied the driver. "Why then I must call my wife, for she is as sharp as a needle." The wife was called, and, in gown and cap, soon made her appearance; the candle and the papers placed in the middle, wife, husband, and driver set about deciphering the hieroglyphics; but that the wife had the character of being as sharp as a needle, I should have augured ill of the labours of this triumvirate. Whether right or wrong, however, the selection was soon made, and the budget once again committed to the wagon.' pp. 167, 168.

Art. III.—1. *Eine merkwürdige astronomische Entdeckung und Beobachtungen des Kometen vom Jul.* 1819, *vom Herrn Doct. Olbers in Bremen.*——*A remarkable astronomical discovery, and observations of the comet of July* 1819, *by Dr Olbers of Bremen.* Published in Bode's Astronomisches Jahrbuch for 1822.

1. *Ueber einen merkwürdigen Kometen, der wahrscheinlich bei dreijähriger Umlaufzeit schon zum viertenmale bei seiner Rückkehr zur Sonne beobachtet ist, vom Herrn Prof. J. H. Encke, Adjuncten der Sternwarte Seeberg bei Gotha.*—— *On a remarkable comet which has probably a periodical revolution of about three years, and which has been four times observed in its descent towards the sun. By Professor Encke, assistant in the observatory at Seeberg, near Gotha.* Published in the same work.

3. *Ueber die Bahn des Ponschen Kometen, nebst Berechnung seines Laufs bei seiner nächsten Wiederkehr im Jahr* 1822, *vom Herrn Prof. Encke, Direktor der Herzogl. Sternwarte Seeberg bei Gotha.*——*On the orbit of Pons'* [*or rather Encke's*] *comet, with the computation of its apparent path about the time of its next appearance in* 1822, *by Professor Encke, director of the Ducal observatory at Seeberg, near Gotha.* Published in the Astronomisches Jahrbuch for 1823. *Bowditch.*

It is well known that the orbits of most of the comets are extremely eccentric, and approach so much to the form of a

parabola, that it is usual to compute the elements of the orbit upon the supposition that they move in this curve; and it is found in general that the observations made on those bodies are well represented by this hypothesis, which leaves however the time of the revolution wholly indeterminate. In fact, there are but very few comets, in which any considerable ellipticity of the motion has been perceived, and only two instances in which the periodical revolution has been determined to any great degree of accuracy, namely, Halley's comet, which appeared for the *fifth* time in 1759, according to his prediction, with a periodical revolution of seventy five years; and Olbers' comet, which was observed for the first time in 1815, with such very evident marks of an elliptical motion, that its periodical revolution could thence be ascertained to a considerable degree of accuracy, and it was found, by a careful examination of all the observations, to be nearly of the same length as that of Halley's comet; though in other respects, the two orbits are very different from each other.

We have now to add to the list another comet, still more remarkable, on account of the shortness of its revolution, which is only one thousand two hundred and five days. It had been observed in 1786, 1795, and 1805; but the defects of the observations in 1786 and 1795 had prevented its identity from being noticed, until its appearance in 1819, when its elliptical motion was discovered by Professor Encke. The details and calculations relative to this remarkable discovery are given in the papers mentioned at the beginning of this article.

The first of these papers contains extracts from letters of Dr Olbers, in which he communicates his observations on the great comet, visible by the naked eye in Europe and in this country, in July 1819; together with his calculations of the parabolic elements of its orbit, which agree very nearly with those made and published in this country. He also mentions, with great brevity, his discovery of the identity of the comet of 1786 and 1795, with the small [or Encke's] comet of 1819.

The second paper contains a full account of the calculations of Professor Encke, to determine the orbit of this comet. *He*, very modestly, names it Pons' comet, from the circumstance that Mr Pons first discovered it, both in 1805 and in 1819; but Professor Bode prefers to call it Encke's comet, after the name of the discoverer of the true orbit, in like manner as was done in the case of Halley and Olbers; and it is highly probable that this last name will be adopted by astronomers.

When this comet was discovered at Marseilles by M. Pons, on the 26th of November 1819, it was in the neck of the constellation Pegasus. It appeared tolerably bright, and a nucleus was several times perceived, but no appearance of a tail. It was not observed in Germany till December 22, 1818, and continued visible till January 12, 1819, describing in its course an apparent arch of about twenty three degrees.

In calculating the parabolic orbit of this comet, Professor Encke used only the German observations. After various trials he found that he could not obtain any parabola that would represent them within three minutes, and the error was much greater in the early observations made at Marseilles, being above thirty minutes in right ascension, and six minutes in declination; a sure indication that the orbit varied much from a parabola, and that it was necessary to notice its elliptical form.

After some preliminary calculations, Prof. Encke assumed the following elliptical elements of the orbit in 1819, using always the *mean time* for the meridian of Seeberg, and the mean equinox for the year in which the comet was observed.

	d.
Time of passing the perihelion	1819 Jan. 27.275
Longitude of the perihelion - -	157° 5′ 53″
Longitude of the ascending node - -	334 43 37
Inclination of the orbit to the ecliptic -	13 38 42
Eccentricity (comet's dist. from sun = 1)	0.849
Mean distance from the sun -	2.2131

Periodical revolution, about 1203 days.

Motion direct.

These elements represent the place of the comet, during its appearance, to a great degree of accuracy. For, out of forty two observations of the right ascension and declination, thirty five are given to less than half a minute, and no error exceeds 1′ 33″: so that there can be no doubt that the true figure of the orbit in 1819 is very nearly given by the above elements.

When this result had been obtained, it became an interesting object of inquiry to find whether the comet had been before observed by astronomers. Upon looking over the general table of the orbits, Professor Encke selected the *first* comet of 1805 (marked 107 in Delambre's table) as a former appearance, with an interval of four revolutions. It was near the constellation *Ursa Major*, when first discovered by Mr Pons, Oct.

20, 1805, and appeared as a star of the fourth magnitude, with a nucleus and a very faint tail, $2\frac{1}{2}°$ in length. It continued visible the 15th of November. The parabolic orbit had been computed by several persons, with considerable difference in the results, which had been imputed, in great measure, to the incompleteness of the observations. In these different calculations the time of passing the perihelion varied from November 17th to 18th; place of the perihelion 147° to 149°; of the node 340° to 345°; inclination $15\frac{1}{2}°$ to $17\frac{1}{2}°$; perihelion distance 0.346 to 0.379. The parabolic elements, published by the accurate and indefatigable Professor Bessel, (*Monatliche Correspendenz*, b. xiii. xiv.) did not represent the right ascensions and declinations without errors of 26′, 11′, 8′, 7′, 6′, &c. Instead of which, Professor Encke found that the following elliptical orbit would satisfy all the observations made in 1805.

	d.
Time of passing the perihelion 1805, Nov.	21.529.
Longitude of the perihelion - -	156° 47′ 24″
Longitude of the ascending node - -	334 20 10
Inclination of the orbit - - -	13 33 30
Eccentricity - - - -	0.8461
Mean distance from the sun -	2.2131

In fifty observations of the right ascension and declination, thirty two are given, by these elements, to less than half a minute, and the greatest error is 1′ 39″.

The near agreement of these elements with those of the comet of 1819 made Professor Encke feel confident that it was the same comet. This discovery having been communicated to Dr Olbers, led him to a farther investigation of the subject, and he, with his usual sagacity and promptness, immediately perceived and gave the information to Professor Bode, that it had also appeared in 1786 and in 1795.

During its appearance in 1795, it was about three minutes in diameter, not well defined, without any tail or nucleus, and was first discovered near the constellation *Cygnus*. It was found extremely difficult to make the observations at that time correspond with a parabolic orbit, and the results of different astronomers were very discordant; making the time of passing the perihelion December 14th or 15th; longitude of the perihelion 157° to 171°; the node 353° to 361°; inclination 10° to 24°; perihelion distance 0.212 to 0.258. After a new reduction and computation of the observations, Professor

Encke found that the following elliptical elements would represent very well the observations made at that time.

	d.
Time of passing the perihelion 1795, Dec.	21.47.
Longitude of the perihelion	156° 41′ 20″
Longitude of the ascending node	334 39 22
Inclination of the orbit	13 42 30
Eccentricity	0·8489
Mean distance from the sun	2.2131

In 1795 the comet was frequently observed in a part of the heavens where there were no bright stars, favourably situated to compare with it, and, on this account, the observations of different astronomers sometimes varied considerably from each other. However, out of thirty eight observations of the right ascension and declination, twenty three were within one minute, and but very few of the observed places varied more than two minutes from the calculations.

On the 17th and 19th of July 1786, this comet was observed in the constellation *Aquarius* by Messrs Messier and Mechain. These two observations are not sufficient to determine the elements, three being the least number that can possibly be used. No notice is therefore taken of it in Delambre's table. It appears however from the above elements of Encke's comet, that it must have been near the perihelion about the 31st of January 1786, and the calculations of Professor Encke confirm those of Dr Olbers, proving that the following elements will *satisfy* these two observations.

	d.
Time of passing the perihelion 1786, Jan.	30.88
Longitude of the perihelion	156° 38′
Longitude of the ascending node	334 08
Inclination of the orbit	13 36
Eccentricity	0.848
Mean distance	2.208

It may be observed that *other* elements may be found, which will also satisfy these *two* observations, but as these elements vary but little from those found for Encke's comet in 1795, 1805 and 1819, there can be no doubt that it was the same.

To compare these results together, we must allow for the precession of the equinoxes during the intervals of the successive appearances. Reducing them all therefore to the mean equinox of 1806, the elements deduced from the observations of the four different appearances of the comet will be respectively,

	1786	1795	1805	1819
Time of Perihel.	Jan. 30.88	Dec. 21.47	Nov. 21.53	Jan. 27.27
Long. of Perihel.	° ′ 156 55	° ′ 156 50	° ′ 156 47	° ′ 156 55
Do. Ascend. Node	334 25	334 48	334 20	334 33
Inclination	13 36	13 42	13 33	13 39
Eccentricity	0.848	0.849	0.846	0.849
Mean distance	2.208	2.213	2.213	2.213

These elements agree remarkably well with each other, especially when we take into consideration that the disturbing forces of the planets have been wholly neglected in making the calculations. Three revolutions of the comet have been completed in each of the intervals between 1786, 1795 and 1805; and four revolutions between 1805 and 1819. Hence it follows that the periodical revolution is about one thousand two hundred and five days, which is rather less than that of the newly discovered planets. In the perihelion it passes within the orbit of Mercury, and at the aphelion is about mid-way between the orbits of these small planets and that of Jupiter.

From these elements it would follow that if the comet pass the perihelion between the months of October and February, it would appear, upon its approach towards the earth, so much to the north of the ecliptic, as to render it visible in our northern climates. But, if it should happen at an opposite season of the year, it would not, in general, be visible, except in places south of the equator; unfortunately, this will in some measure be the case at its next appearance in May 1822.

To determine with precision the time and place when the comet will next appear, would require a complete calculation of the disturbing forces of *all* the planets upon the comet from the year 1795 to 1822. The methods of doing this (though much abridged and simplified from what they were, when Clairaut and his associates, with immense labour, calculated the return of Halley's comet) are yet extremely laborious; and the difficulty in the present instance may sometimes be very much increased, from the circumstance that the comet may pass very near to Mercury, and the attraction of this planet might be so much augmented by its proximity, that its disturbing force, notwithstanding the smallness of its mass, might exceed that of Jupiter, the greatest planet in the system.

The calculations made by Professor Encke, to ascertain nearly the effect of the disturbing forces of the planet upon the

comet, are given in the third of the papers mentioned at the beginning of this article. It is unnecessary to go into any particular detail relative to this subject. We shall merely observe, that the result of his inquiries leaves an uncertainty of about one day in the time of passing the perihelion. He has therefore used two *sets* of elements, in computing the places of the comet. The *first* set, which he supposes to be the most accurate, is as follows: counting the mean time from the meridian of Seeberg, and the longitudes from the mean equinox of May 24, 1822.

	d. *h.*
Time of passing the perihelion, 1822,	May 24, 0.
Log. of the mean distance -	0.34722
Long. of the perihelion - -	157° 12′ 7″
Long. of the ascending node -	334 23 24
Inclination of the orbit to the ecliptic	13 20 36
Eccentricity - - -	0.84472

In the *second* set, the time of passing the perihelion is May 25$^{d.}$ 0$^{h.}$; the log. of the mean distance 0.34746; the rest of the elements are not altered.

Professor Encke has calculated, in both these hypotheses, the places of the comet, at intervals of four and of two days, from Feb. 25, 1822, to July 27. From this table we have made the following extracts.

	Right Ascens.		Declination.		Log. dist.	
	1 set.	2 set.	1 set.	2 set.	from ☉	from ⊕
	° ′	° ′	° ′	° ′		
1822. Feb. 25	0 44	0 40	7 19 N.	7 16 N.	0.218	0.391
Mar. 1	2 28	2 24	8 4	8 1	0.204	0.386
April 2	19 51	19 38	15 14	15 9	0.061	0.323
May 4	49 41	49 0	23 36	23 31	9.783	0.193
Perih. May 24	81 12	80 33	23 0	23 27	9.538	0.019
June 1	91 47	91 50	18 18	19 2	9.607	9.902
" 19	109 59	110 53	1 43 S.	0 1 S.	9.855	9.607
July 1	134 48	134 51	30 11	26 34	9.966	9.440
" 27	234 55	232 6	47 2	46 35	0.124	9.713

It appears, from this table, that at the time of sunset at Seeberg, in the latitude of 50° 56′ N. the comet on the 25th Feb. 1822, will be 26½° above the horizon of that place; March 13th it will be 20°; March 29th, 14½°; and April

14th, 11°. Therefore, after the middle of March, it can be observed only in the evening twilight, and, on account of its great distance, it will not have a quarter part the brightness it had when first discovered in 1819, so that it may not be seen in Europe or in the United States; because after the perihelion, when it approaches the nearest to the earth, it will be too far to the south. It is however strongly recommended to search for it with good night glasses, particularly as it was observed in January 1819, in the evening twilight, only 5° above the horizon. After the perihelion, in southern climates, it will be visible by the naked eye, and from the 24th of May to the 27th of July, its brightness (independent of the effect of the twilight) will be much greater than it was when discovered by Mr Pons in 1819; and it is hoped that its apparent path will be carefully traced at the new observatory at the Cape of Good Hope, as also at Port Jackson, and at other places in the southern hemisphere.

While the astronomers of Europe are thus making, almost every year, important discoveries, which will render the present age forever memorable in the history of science; it is rather a mortifying consideration, that, in America, nothing can be done to assist in the laudable work; since there is not a well furnished observatory on the whole continent, from Canada to Cape Horn; and while Great Britain alone can boast of more than *thirty* public and private observatories of considerable note, we have not in the whole United States *one* that deserves the name. It is moreover a subject of regret that the general government, instead of holding out inducements to individuals to procure from abroad the accurate and expensive instruments, necessary for nice astronomical observations (and which can only be made by the delicate hand of a Troughton or a Reichenbach) should virtually impose a *fine* of several hundred dollars, under the name of *duties*, upon the person who imports them; and this *penalty* must be further increased, if he should wish also to procure the voluminous transactions of the Royal Societies of London, Paris, Petersburg, and Berlin, with other similar works, where the treasures of the science of astronomy are to be found. This oppressive *tax* upon the literature and science of our country, or (as it has been very justly termed on the floor of Congress) this *bounty upon ignorance*, seems not to comport with the nature of our government, which is founded upon the principle that

the people are virtuous and intelligent; and it would therefore seem to be the dictate of a wise policy to encourage, in every possible manner, the means of instruction; with the full persuasion that it is upon the general diffusion of knowledge among the citizens that the safety of our excellent institutions of government must depend.

ART. IV.—*A description of the Island of St Michael, comprising an account of its geological structure; with some remarks on the other Azores or Western Islands. Originally communicated to the Linnæan Society of New England. By John W. Webster, M. D. Cor. Sec. L. S. N. E.* 8vo. pp. 243. Boston, 1821. *J. G. Cogswell.*

THE discovery of the Azores forms a very important link in the chain of events, which led to the discovery of the Western World. It was a reward in hand to the enterprise and courage, which had ventured so far on the broad expanse of the Atlantic, and an earnest of the immortal honor which awaited the bold adventurer, who should follow its waves still nearer to the setting sun. The various objects, which the winds drove on shore upon these islands, afforded so many indications of other land at no great distance to the west, that several navigators were induced to set sail from them in quest of discoveries in that direction, even as early as forty years before Columbus' first voyage. These attempts, it is well known, were unsuccessful; they serve however to show what were the opinions and expectations upon the subject at that day. Ferdinand Columbus, in his account of his father's life and exploits, mentions these circumstances among the motives which induced the great discoverer to sail westward in search of land, and the same are repeated by Herrera, Munoz, Robertson, and Bossi. Whatever may be said of a western passage to India, as the ultimate object of which he was in pursuit, there cannot now be a doubt that his immediate one was that which he first attained, and it is probable that he represented the other as the most important, because he knew it would be so regarded by those whose aid he sought, and also most likely to gain credit. It is not however in this connexion only that the discovery of these islands is an interesting and important event; it was the first considerable

maritime enterprise in modern times; the first movings of that adventurous, exploring, commercial spirit, which has since so fully developed itself, and formed the great characteristic distinction between the present and former ages of the world. We should have been pleased, therefore, if our author had thought this part of his subject deserving of a more particular and fuller notice than he has given it, and we have proofs enough throughout his work, that he could have cleared it of the obscurity in which he finds it involved, if he had made the attempt. The authority upon which we think most reliance should be placed is that of the globe of Martin Behaim. It is one of the earliest accessible records of the event, and was made by a man well versed in all good learning, especially in geography, who was an inhabitant for some years of one of the islands in question, and the son-in-law of Huerter, the planter of the Flemish colony in Fayal. This globe, as appears by an inscription upon it, was made 'at the request of the sage and venerable magistrates of the noble and imperial city of Nuremberg according to the discoveries and directions of the chevalier Martin Behaim, learned in the art of cosmography, having himself sailed one third round the world.' And 'it was left by the said Martin Behaim in 1492 to the city of Nuremberg as a testimony of his remembrance and respect, when he was about to leave it, and return to his wife, who dwelt on an island seven hundred German miles distant.' The eastern continent is delineated upon it in conformity to the descriptions of Ptolemy, Pliny, Strabo, and the other ancient geographers, with such additions and corrections as he was enabled to make from the information furnished by Marco Polo and Mandeville, and the islands on the coast of Africa and the Azores from his own and other modern discoveries. Written descriptions of many of these places are given on the globe itself. We quote that which relates to the question under consideration, from Murr, who, in his life of Behaim, has furnished a most minute and faithful account of the subject of his biography, accompanied with an engraving of the globe, and copies of all the geographical and historical memoranda upon it. 'In the year 1431,' says Behaim, 'two vessels with provisions for two years were sent out to discover the countries beyond St James of Finisterre; which vessels sailed about five hundred German miles toward the west, and finally discovered there ten islands and landed on them, where they found

nothing but a desert, in which there was no trace of man or quadruped, but a multitude of birds so tame, as not to fly at the approach of a person. The year following the king sent out sixteen ships with animals of every kind to be left on the islands.' This account agrees very nearly with that of Candido Lusitano, quoted by our author from the Quarterly Review, which fixes the period of their discovery August 15, 1432, and St Mary as the island first discovered. We think these two authorities sufficient to establish the fact, the first for the reasons before given, and the last as that of the biographer of prince Henry, under whose direction all the voyages of discovery of that day were undertaken, who must have looked into the original documents which relate to these events, for the materials of his biography. We would here remark, that the writer, of whom we speak, who is named Candido Lusitano in the Review just mentioned, was a friar of the order of the Oratorio, whose real name was Francis Joseph, and that his 'Vida do Infante Don Henrique,' which was first published in the Portuguese language, 1758, has since been translated into French and German, although it is there supposed to exist only in the original. It now remains to reconcile this account with that of Dr Robertson and others, which fixes the discovery of the Azores in the year 1449. This apparent discordancy vanishes upon a close examination of the passages which record the event, some of which evidently refer to the time of colonization, and others to the first discovery; and it is through inattention to this circumstance, that the early history of these islands has been involved in obscurity. Antonio Galvano is commonly quoted among the authorities in favor of 1449, and with what truth the following passage from his 'account of the discoveries of the world,' will decide.—'In the year 1449, the king Don Alphonso gave license unto his uncle Don Henry to inhabit the islands of the Azores, which were long before discovered.' This is fully explained by a reference to that period of the history of Portugal. King Edward, who succeeded John, his father, in 1433, had but a short and inefficient reign, during the whole of which his brother, prince Henry, was engaged in extending his discoveries along the coast of Africa, and therefore nothing was done for the settlement of the Azores. At his death in 1438, his successor, Alphonso V, was in his minority, during which no decisive measures could be taken in re-

gard to them, and it was not until he came of age in 1449, that a formal grant of them was made to Don Henry, nor is there any reason whatever for believing that a colony was permanently established there before that time. It is however quite probable, that Van der Berg, the Flemish captain, may have touched at one of these islands in 1439, as he is reported to have done by some historians, and that they may have been visited by many adventurers between 1432 and 1449. As to the account of Thuanus, which says that they were discovered by Bethencourt sixty-eight years before Columbus sailed for the new world, and consequently in 1424, it is too plainly erroneous to need an answer, the Bethencourt of whom he speaks having been dead sixteen years at least. The error arose, without doubt, from his confounding these islands with the Canaries, of which Bethencourt took possession the beginning of the fifteenth century. It would be equally easy to remove the uncertainties from the history of the other islands, but our attention at this time will be more properly directed to our author, and we will refresh our readers and ourselves with something from him, as soon as we have noticed one more error in the earlier accounts, which is, that Martin Behaim was the discoverer of Fayal. This island, it is universally agreed, was discovered as early as 1460, and inhabited in 1466. Job de Huerter, whose daughter Behaim afterwards married, planted the first colony there, who were all Flemings, and from them the Azores were often called the Flemish isles. Martin Behaim did not leave Nuremberg, the place of his nativity and of his business, which was traffic, until after 1479, as appears by a letter of his own of that year, and consequently could not have discovered Fayal in 1460. The mistake comes from his connexion with Huerter, and was so clearly proved to be such by Murr, whose book appeared in 1778, that we were much surprised to find it persisted in by Mr Otto in his memoir on the discovery of America, written eight years after, and published in the second volume of the American Philosophical Transactions, especially as he claims the attention of the learned, on account of the researches he had been making into the German and Spanish Chronicles. If this were the only error Mr Otto had made in his memoir, it would be trifling, but when he follows Riccioli, and Cellarius, and Stüven, in tearing the laurels from the brows of Columbus to place them on those of Behaim, we should be

glad if he had found some other sanction for the deed, than the name of the oldest scientific society in our country. But with this we have nothing to do at this time.

The character and present condition of the inhabitants of these islands, which is the next view to be taken of them, is one of comparatively little interest. They have no original features; of Portuguese origin, and catholics in religion, they preserve all the manners and customs of their nation and religion with a few modifications, which their insular situation has produced. Colonial life is generally the infancy and childhood of a portion of the species, but little more than mere animal existence, and the events of its history are for the most part about as important and as diversified, compared with the great history of nations, as a mother's account of her children's daily sports and occupations, compared with the perfect development of minds like Milton's and Newton's. We do not introduce this remark by way of complaint against our author for making us so thoroughly and intimately acquainted with the modes of life and habits of the people of the island, which he has so ably described, but in justification of ourselves for passing so lightly over this part of his work, as we are compelled to do. The island of St Michael, he informs us, is the largest of the Azores, being forty eight miles in its greatest length, and eleven in breadth; its population in 1818 was eighty thousand, of which twelve thousand were in Ponta Delgado, its chief city. It has a military governor and a principal civil officer, called Corregidor, both of whom are sent out by the crown, and hold their offices for three years only. The people in general are represented as ignorant, the institutions for instruction being few and miserable—acquainted with no science but music, and passionately fond of this—superstitious and consequently narrow-minded, and illiberal in religion—the richer class idle and inactive in their habits, slovenly in their dress, given to games of chance and like amusements, formal in their manners and fond of show in the highest degree. This trait in their character is very pleasantly and graphically described by our author in the following passage:

'Visits of ceremony are usually made soon after dinner, which among the Portuguese is at twelve o'clock, and the party is composed of most of the members of the family. The ladies are dressed in silks and satins of the most gaudy colours, with a profusion of gold ornaments, jewels, &c. and are always attended by

one or more gentlemen in laced coats and embroidered waistcoats, with cocked hats and swords.

'As soon as notice is given of their arrival, the master of the house descends to the street door to receive and conduct the lady to the drawing room, where she is handed to the sofa, left vacant for her, and to which no one else dare approach; the lady of the house takes a chair on her right, the other members of the family seat themselves on her left: and in this manner the visit is continued from one to three hours.

'Evening parties assemble about five in the afternoon, and are conducted with equal formality. The ladies are arranged on one side of the room, the gentlemen on the opposite, little or no conversation takes place, and they often occupy the same seat till the time of departure. Whenever any lady crosses the room all the gentlemen rise and remain standing, till she resumes her seat." p. 34.

We may infer from this account that politeness to ladies is one of the characteristics of their manners, and it is almost the only commendable quality they possess. The condition of females in some other respects is not the most pleasant; they are immured almost as much as in Mahommedan countries, and are not allowed to be governed by their own choice in forming their matrimonial connexions. It seems, however, that they have learned, as ladies always do, by the exercise of vigilance and their natural ingenuity, to go where they please and marry whom they please, and settle the affair with husbands and fathers afterwards. These are the principal features in the characters and manners of the inhabitants of St Michael, and it will be seen on looking at them that they are not much unlike those which their native country exhibits. Three chapters of the work are devoted to the topics of which we have given an abstract; the four next treat of convents and religious ceremonies, which we pass over without remark to come to the eighth and ninth, which furnish some highly interesting information in regard to the climate, agriculture, and commerce of the island. It is really enough to make one discontented with the blessed land in which we live to lift our eyes from Dr Webster's account of the climate of the Azores, and look abroad upon our leafless trees, our snow clad fields, and our shivering men and women, whom all the furs and eider down of Russia and Sweden cannot warm, to know that there is a spot where the thermometer ranges from October to March between 50° and 75° of Fahrenheit, and at the same time to

feel that the most we can do by the aid of furnaces, and pipes, and double windows, and double doors, and Turkey carpets, is to raise the atmosphere of our habitations a few degrees above freezing. Equally inviting is his picture of the appearance of vegetation at the same season. 'In the months of December and January the air is perfumed by the geraniums, myrtles, and roses, then in full flower—the orange and lemon trees blossom in the months of February and March. At this time the deep and glossy green of the old leaves, the light, fresh tints of those just shooting forth, the brilliant yellow of the ripe fruit, and the delicate white and purple of the flower are finely contrasted with each other, presenting one of the most beautiful sights imaginable.' How can one read of such things, and not exclaim with the song of the harper in Wilhelm Meister:

> 'Knows't thou the land which boasts the lemon's bloom,
> Where the gold orange spreads its sweet perfume;
> Mid lofty laurels, fragrant myrtles rise,
> And balmy breezes breathe from azure skies—
> Know'st thou that land? O, Love! that there
> I might with thee to that bright realm repair.'

Whether those, who dwell continually among these enchanting scenes of nature retain any sensibility to their beauties we will not pretend to decide, but we doubt not they value them less for the delight they afford the eye, than for the wealth they bring. 'The usual produce of a good tree in common years,' says our author, 'is from six to eight thousand oranges or lemons. Some instances of uncommon productiveness have occurred; a few years since twenty six thousand oranges were obtained from one tree, and twenty nine thousand have been gathered from another.' This last, he adds, has never been exceeded; but it has been considerably in the Cape de Verds, —forty thousand being there not unfrequently produced on a single tree. Ashe, with his usual correctness, gives sixty thousand, as the maximum produce of one tree in St Michael, and fifty thousand as the average; and estimates them at two and a half dollars the thousand, by which rule he makes every tree yield the owner one hundred and twenty five dollars annually, and consequently an acre of land certainly not less than ten thousand dollars. After such an absurd statement as this, Ashe does not venture to mention the quantity exported, but Dr Webster does, and from unquestionable authority, the

records of the American consul, by which it appears that eighty thousand boxes is the exportation of a very productive year, which is somewhat less than the produce of two trees by Ashe's method of computation. The cultivation of fruit appears to be the only considerable branch of agriculture, except that of Indian corn, of which three hundred thousand bushels are annually exported. No wine is made beyond what is required for home consumption. The tenure by which lands are held is unfavourable to the encouragement of agriculture, which, combined with the indolent habits of the people, and their prejudices against innovations, however beneficial, reduce the surplus produce of the island vastly below what the fertility of its soil, and the excellence of its climate, make it capable of yielding. This is an affair of much more importance to the people of the west of Europe and to us, than it is to the inhabitants of the island; for, beside being a most convenient and admirable fruit garden for both countries, the commerce which is carried on with it affords employment to a very considerable number of their ships and men.

The remainder of the volume is entirely geological, and we congratulate the author upon being the first to furnish this needed information, and thus to fill up one of the chasms in the history of volcanos. It does not appear that these islands were observed to be volcanic, until a long time after their discovery. Berland, who visited them in 1589, says nothing of it; neither does Linschoten, who was there in 1592, although both of them speak of the earthquakes by which they are convulsed. One of these, according to the latter authority, must have been more violent than any that has been felt since. The shock began July 26, 1591, and lasted till August 12, during which time, 'the land in some places rose up, and the cliffs removed from one place to another, and some hills were levelled and made even with the ground; and such thunder and noise were heard under the earth, as if all the devils in hell had been assembled together there.' This is very like Kircher's description of the earthquake which preceded the submarine volcanic eruption in 1638, when a new island sprung up from the sea, near St Michael: and it is in the work which contains this account, his Mundus Subterraneus, first published in 1660, that we find the earliest mention of the volcanic character of the Azores. Another island made a like sudden appearance between St Michael and Terceira, November 1720,

which again brought them into discussion, and the fact of their being volcanos was as clearly established as any scientific facts ever were in those days. Separate accounts of this phenomenon were published in the London Philosophical Transactions for 1722, and in the Histoire de l'Academie des Sciences of the same year; and it is worthy of remark, that in the former the event is said to have happened eighteen days earlier than in the latter. The English account, however, is most entitled to credit, as it came from an eye witness, John Robinson, master of the pink snow Richard and Elizabeth, from Piscataqua in New England. Since that time these islands have always been set down as volcanos, but nothing more is found in any writer on the subject than the bare fact. They are recognized as such by Faujas de St Fond, in his 'Recherches sur les Volcans;' but in his 'Mineralogie des Volcans,' he never refers to them as localities of any of the volcanic substances described by him, nor does Ordinaire, in his 'Histoire naturelle des Volcans,' give any particulars of their history. Hebbe, a Swedish traveller, spent the winter of 1802 in Fayal, and on his return to Sweden published an account of that island, with some remarks on the other Azores, but he did not anticipate Dr Webster in any part of his geological information: still less did Capt. Ashe, notwithstanding he went so deeply into the subject, as to satisfy himself that 'the subterraneous conflagration was travelling westward, and that in a short time they [the people of St Michael] would be relieved from all apprehensions of volcanos and earthquakes.' In fact, the examination of volcanos and volcanic phenomena *in situ* is altogether a modern study; for, although it began with Pliny, it was laid aside again until the time of Sir William Hamilton, to both of whom it was suggested by the same circumstance,—a residence in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius. Sir William's example was soon followed by Dolomieu, Ferber, Spallanzani, Dietrich, Born, Gioeni, Raspe, Fortis, and Faujas de St Fond; and more latterly a new interest has been given to the inquiry by the influence ascribed by Dr Hutton and Mr Playfair to the great volanic agent in the formation of the present exterior crust of the earth. Breislak, Von Buch, Montlosier, Lacoste, sir G. Mackenzie, Cordier, and Humboldt have collected new facts from widely distant regions, in which these grand operations of nature are exhibited; but the mystery is not yet solved, and the remark of Humboldt still remains true, that 'notwith-

standing all the researches that have recently been made on volcanos, there is nothing but the study of volcanic products, which has made any progress. As to the nature of the combustibles which nourish those subterranean fires, we are very far from being able to give an explication, which, without being contrary to the rules of chemistry and of physics can account for the great phenomena, which volcanic explosions present.'

But it is time to see what new light our author has elicited from the hitherto neglected Azores. These islands are represented as exhibiting at every step marks of a comparatively recent formation. St Michael, the one which he examined, is bounded by high precipitous shores, and broken by a range of hills and mountains running through it nearly in an east and west direction. These mountains are not in one continuous chain, but are for the most part completely separated at their bases, having the usual volcanic conical form, the summits being sometimes sharply acuminated, and sometimes truncated and hollowed into basins, some of which are several miles in circuit, and filled with water so as to form considerable lakes. The vallies and level lands of the island are all of the same volcanic character, the surfaces, as deep as could be examined, being either lava unchanged or decomposed, and converted into breccia, or beds of pumice, or tuff, or scoriæ, in a word some one of the various substances ejected from the craters. We know not, therefore, upon what this volcanic mass rests; it gives us no other insight into its history, than what its products afford. Among these there are very few, if any, which distinguish it from the volcanos before known, but it presents us with nearly all the substances, which have been collected from the others, as well those which are still in activity as those which have been long extinguished.

Of lithoid lavas we have the several varieties produced by their two chief constituents, felspar and augite, according to the proportions in which they are found, and the greater or less abundance of their usual accessories, hornblende and oxidulous iron. The porphyritic lava, or trachyte, is the most abundant; basalt, the other principal volcanic rock, occurs but rarely. The lavas which have lost their lithoid character, and become vitrified or scorious, are seen in great quantities. The obsidian, which is for the most part trachytic, is described as less compact than that of Iceland, but quite as beautiful in colour and lustre. It is found in the ravines among the loose

rocks, sometimes imbedded in the masses of pumice, which in many parts of the island cover a great extent of surface. These two volcanic products are observed constantly passing from one into the other, leaving it scarcely possible to distinguish the line of separation, still less to doubt that they were at one time the same identical substance. All the other marks by which the mighty effects of the agency of fire are recognized, such as scoriæ, volcanic sand, ashes, tuff, breccias, and lava in every state of decomposition and new combination, are spread over the whole island, so as to leave no doubt which of the elements has exercised dominion there. A farther resemblance to the volcanos heretofore known is observed in the minerals found by Dr Webster among the rocks of St Michael, which had undergone either but a slight or no change by the action of fire. Those mentioned by him are felspar, augite, hornblende, olivine, mica, haüyne, leucite, arragonite, and oxidulous iron, but he does not appear to have found either meionite, nepheline, or pleonaste, which are thus far the peculiar characteristics of Vesuvius. In many respects, however, the masses, which contain these minerals from St Michael, have a striking resemblance to those from Vesuvius, particularly a semivitrified kind of felspar, which we doubt not is the eisspath of Werner and the German mineralogists. We trace also an almost perfect similarity to the solfatara of the Campi Phlegræi, in his description of the country around the Caldeiras:

'As we pass along the narrow road from the village to this spot,' says our author, 'the gradual change from a fertile to a barren soil is observed, and within a few yards of the hot springs, nearly all traces of vegetation are lost. At the extremity of the road, the ground is almost snow white, and then acquires a reddish tinge; this increases in intensity and brightness, and finally passes through an infinite variety of shades to a deep brown. The vicinity of the springs is indicated by the increased temperature of the earth, a sulphureous odour, and the escape of vapour or steam from every crack and fissure in the ground. The volumes of smoke and steam rolling upwards from the surface to a great height, till they are gradually diffused through the atmosphere, or mingle with the heavier clouds that crown the summit of the mountains, produce a striking effect.

A few yards from the principal Caldeira is an elevation of about fifty feet in height, and probably as many in extent, composed of alternate layers of a coarser variety of sinter and clay, including grass, ferns, and reeds in different states of petrifac-

tion. Not many years since, the side of this hill fell in, and discovered a deep and frightful chasm; smoke and steam at present issue from it in vast quantities, accompanied by a tremendous noise. Looking down through this opening, a body of water is seen boiling with great violence. An appalling roar is incessantly reverberated from side to side within the dome, and is increased at short intervals by sudden and violent explosions. The surface of this hill, the sides of the cavern, and the innumerable crevices in the ground are coated with sulphur. Every stone has been more or less changed, while not a shrub or plant flourishes for many yards around.'

There is not a little in this description to remind one of the

> 'Locus exciso penitus demersus hiatu
> Parthenopen inter magnæque Dicarchidos arva
> Cocyta perfusus aqua,'

of Petronius.

Dr Webster suspected that sulphuret of iron in the act of decomposition was the cause of the phenomena observed about these hot springs, and on digging, he had the satisfaction of finding large quantities, several feet below the surface, under loose masses of basaltic fragments, which contained, without doubt, microscopic portions of the sulphuret. Breislak found the same at Solfatara, and regards its operations in the same light. There is nothing unreasonable in supposing it to be the cause of such partial and confined effects, but we do not see how it could ever have been thought adequate to the production and enkindling of volcanic fires.

It would be thought unreasonable perhaps to complain of our author for not doing more, when he has done so much, and been so faithful in what he has done, but we should have been pleased if he had furnished us with a few more means of judging of the antiquity of these volcanos, and of the number of eruptions they have poured out. The depth of the currents of lava might in many cases be exactly ascertained, and the fact determined whether they flowed over others more ancient, or whether the whole surface of the island above water is the effect of one mighty convulsion. We are inclined to believe, from all that we gather from his accounts, that it is the production of repeated volcanic eruptions, but that none of them ever burned for any considerable time. It is not improbable even that a process has been employed in its formation similar to that which produced the recent submarine vol-

canos in its vicinity in 1638, 1720, and 1811. Had these taken place in shallower water, it is most likely they would have left some lasting heaps of volcanic products as monuments of the terrific power, which had been displayed there, similar to Monte Nuovo in the vicinity of Naples, and Jorullo in the province of New Spain, the last of which is more than sixteen hundred feet in height, and was the work as it were of a single moment. All of them were preceded by earthquakes and other terrific events, very much in the same way, and the materials thrown from them of a similar kind. Dr Webster's account of that near St Michael is too interesting not to be quoted.

'In the months of July and August, 1810, this island was convulsed by repeated earthquakes. Slight shocks were also occasionally noticed till January 1811, on the last day of which month, about one o'clock in the morning, a shock far more powerful and terrific, than any which had preceded, was experienced; to this others succeeded, and they were repeated during the day in such rapid succession, that in the city of Ponta Delgada, thirty-one were counted in the space of a few hours. On the following day, a strong sulphureous smell confirmed the report, that fire and smoke had issued from the sea opposite to the village of Genettes, at the distance of about two miles from the shore.

'The wind blowing from the westward, carried clouds of fine ashes towards the city, a distance of eighteen miles, where it was deposited upon the buildings and other objects. The column formed by the eruptive matter and smoke was seen by persons many miles farther to the eastward, rising above the intervening hills. Some of the pieces of lava were projected to the height of more than two thousand feet. When first seen above the water they were black, but, as they emerged from the column became red and glowing. Vast quantities of smoke, ashes, and water were ejected to the height of some hundred feet, but never rose so high as the stony masses. This eruption continued eight days, when it gradually diminished in activity and finally ceased altogether, leaving a shoal on which the sea broke.

'On the tenth of June following, a sulphureous smell, attended with repeated and violent earthquakes, announced, that an eruption had again taken place, which was soon confirmed by the peasants from the western part of the island. The spot, whence the flames and ashes now issued, was about two and a half miles to the westward of that where the first eruption occurred, and at a distance of a mile from the shore, opposite the mountain, called the Pico das Camarinhas. The wind blowing off shore, carried away the smoke and allowed a perfect view of this grand phenomenon from the higher land.

'On the seventeenth the ejected matter became more abundant and the volcano appeared in its highest degree of grandeur, forming a vast column apparently of smoke and ashes; the eruptions were repeated in rapid succession, but with very regular intermissions. This latter circumstance encouraged some gentlemen to go off in a small vessel with the intention of sailing round the column; they were, however, unable to accomplish it, for scarcely had they set sail before they became enveloped in a dense, black cloud, from which poured down heavy showers of salt water and ashes, covering the deck of the vessel to the depth of more than an inch

'The eruption having ceased, a small island was discovered to have been formed, which was estimated by those persons who observed it from the shore of St Michael, to be about a mile in circumference, and between two and three hundred feet above the surrounding water. After this it gradually increased. The north eastern extremity of the new island had a conical form; and on the other side was a deep hollow, or crater, into which the tide flowed, and from which flame rose for several days, attended with incessant explosions. The surf was too high at this time to allow any person to land, but from as near inspection as possible, the whole island appeared to consist of fine black ashes; very few large stones could be seen. The earthquakes now ceased, and the whole island soon after disappeared.'

Some of the circumstances mentioned by Capt. Robinson, in his account of the submarine eruption of 1720, are very similar to the foregoing, and prove them both to be of the same kind. He calls it an island all fire and smoke, and says that the ashes fell on the deck of his vessel like hail or snow all night—that the fire and smoke roared like thunder. Vast quantities of pumice must have been thrown out at this eruption, as it was seen not long after floating on the sea, as far as the coast of France. Mr Delisle, who communicated an account of the same to the French Academy, speaks of a very remarkable circumstance observed at that time. We quote it in the original: 'On remarqua en meme temps que la pointe de l'ile de Pic, qui en etoit à trente lieues, et qui auparavant jettoit du feu, etoit affaisie, et n'en jettoit plus.' This indicates a subterranean communication throughout this volcanic region, such as has been thought to exist between Vesuvius and Ætna. The belief in the existence of such communications is connected with the theory of the origin of lavas. Those who suppose them to be formed by fusion out of the rocks of the interior of the earth, necessarily suppose large cavities to be

formed by the rocks so removed, and these being constantly extended, open at length extensive passages, through which the communications are made. But both this origin of lavas and the existence of such excavations are denied by some geologists, and yet there are many stubborn facts in favour of both suppositions. Deep caverns, we know, are often found in volcanic mountains; the isle of Vulcano, one of the Liparis, according to Dolomieu, is a cone completely excavated, in which a second cone has risen, leaving a sort of corridor an hundred paces wide between the outer and the inner, and Dr Webster explored very spacious caverns in St Michael, the bottoms of which seemed to him to be the roofs of others still lower. Were it possible to get nearer the bottom of these dark, unfathomed caves, one might find perhaps some of the rocks in which they are formed, in all the various stages of their passage from the primitive into the volcanic.

If this island and most of the others of the cluster be one entire volcanic formation above the surface of the water, as seems to be clearly shown, and if, as we suppose, the mountains upon them be the work of a single eruption, what idea can be formed of the magnitude and grandeur of the convulsions which produce them. Pico raises itself above the level of the sea nearly or quite nine thousand feet, and the highest points of St Michael are estimated by Dr Webster to be five thousand; and yet these are but ant-hills compared with the stupendous volcanic domes of Chimborazo, Pitchincha, and Cotopaxi. Are there any operations of nature which afford nobler subjects for man's contemplation and examination than these, and are there any sublimer points from which her great works can be viewed? But how easily is human curiosity baffled and human science confounded: after all the researches, which have been made, what secret of hers has been discovered! Can the geologist, who has visited all the volcanos of the old and new world, and looked down into their craters, and spent months in examining the streams of lava, which have issued from them, and years in his own little laboratory in analyzing and decomposing and compounding them, say how the process is carried on in the great laboratories of nature, of which these craters are but the ventilators? Can he tell us how these ever-burning fires were kindled, or how they are supplied with combustible materials, or by what force it is that mountain masses of rock are thrown to the height of miles

from the depths in which they are formed, or how some parts of a substance come forth completely changed by the fusion it had undergone, and other parts of the same untouched and unchanged. No; these are questions beyond the reach of human powers, but the science of geology is nevertheless not an useless one, nor does it busy itself in vain with the inquiries which the work under consideration is intended to advance. The changes which have taken and are continually taking place on the surface of the earth by the agency of the different elements, of which the greatest are by that of fire, are phenomena, which fairly offer themselves to our examination and which must be studied by those, who wish to understand the natural history of the globe we inhabit. All who are interested in such inquiries will derive great satisfaction from this work, which has the rare merit of recording facts, not encumbered with perplexing speculations; and those who seek for entertainment only in a book of travels will find much of that in the parts of it devoted to general descriptions. It is entitled to every commendation for the simplicity, neatness, purity, and perspicuity of its style, for the general correctness of its language, and for its pleasant and sprightly manner of narration. An appendix is added after the description of St Michael, giving a short account of the other islands of the cluster, of which four only, Fayal, St George, Pico, and Terceira, are mentioned as volcanic. Fayal is a place of considerable trade, principally in fruit and in wine brought over from Pico, which abounds in vineyards. Terceira derives its chief importance from being the seat of the government. Flores and Graciosa deserve to be mentioned for the sake of their pretty names, if for nothing else; St Mary, the most southern of the groupe, is distinguished as the first which was discovered; and Corvo, the most northern, by nothing, as far as our knowledge of it extends, except for having been recommended by Ashe as a place of transportation for British felons.

The pleasure which we have derived from reading this work has been much increased by the circumstance of its being the production of an author of our own. Our national pride is gratified in seeing such an encroachment upon the dominions of the old world, and in thus preoccupying a field for scientific research, which geographers, unjustly perhaps, have assigned to the other hemisphere. A roving disposition is said to be one of the characteristics of our national character.

It has, however, until within a short time, been rather a roving in search of fortune, than of knowledge; at least we have a right to presume so, for a dozen years ago we were none the wiser for what our own travellers had seen. It is now quite otherwise; our contribution of late to the stock of voyages and travels has been very generous in respect to quantity, and, in many cases, we may add, very respectable as to quality. Exchanges and marts and quays are no longer the only parts of an European city which our countrymen frequent; numbers of them are now every where found in the circles of men of letters, in the lecture rooms of the universities, cultivating their tastes in the galleries of the arts or amid the beautiful ruins of antiquity, searching into all the wonders of the animal and vegetable and mineral kingdoms at the *jardin des plantes* or at the *école des mines*, or surveying the heavens through the telescope of Herschel. This, to be sure, is making great and rapid advances in the acquisition of a national literary character; but it would be far better if we had the means for the same degree of cultivation within our own borders. Genuine, glowing patriotism proceeds in part from prejudices in favor of one's country, and these prejudices are very liable to be scattered by the comparisons, which travellers are sometimes obliged to make in foreign lands, to the disadvantage of their own. It is delightful to have conversed with the Platos and Ciceros, the Homers and Virgils, the Sapphos and Corinnas of the age in which we live, but should we chance to have found them in a foreign country instead of in our own, we might have been in danger of leaving some portion of our affections, where we had been obliged to leave so much of our admiration. Barthelemi makes his Scythian say, that in his youth he had sought happiness among nations the most enlightened, and that at a more advanced age he found repose among a people, which knew only the gifts of nature; and repose is all that any man could desire, the finest years of whose life had been spent in Greece. When he should come to wear out the residue of them among such a people—there would not be interest enough left in it to prompt to any exertion or enterprise.

We have wandered from our subject to drop an incidental remark on the dangerous influence of foreign travel. We now return to it, to say, that if all who go abroad for the purposes of information would bring home with them a volume as val-

uable as this of Dr Webster, it would be some compensation, and the only one which they can make, for the wrong they do their country by their absence. It will not, we hope, be thought, that however valuable this work may be on account of its own intrinsic worth, it is still of but little interest to us, in respect of the country, which it describes; and it certainly will not, by those who recollect that St Michael is an island with which we have considerable trade, from which we receive one of our choicest luxuries, and to which our invalids resort to find a balmier air and a milder sky than can be had in our climate during winter. We leave it, with many thanks to the writer for the entertainment and instruction it has afforded us.

Art. V.—*Dissertations on the importance and the best method of studying the Original Languages of the Bible, by Jahn and others, translated from the originals and accompanied with notes, by M. Stuart, Associate Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover.* 8vo. Andover. 1821.

We can say of the present work, as of the Hebrew Grammar, noticed in our last number, that it bodes well to the cause of oriental learning, not only in the Theological Seminary, with which its author is connected, but, as we hope, in other similar institutions in our country. The prominent object of this publication is to urge the necessity of studying the original languages of the bible, especially the Hebrew and its related dialects, to point out the best method of studying them, and, if we look at the tendency of some of the notes, appended to it, we may add, to excite the attention of the public to the important subject of a well educated and faithful ministry. These are objects, we are sure, which are calculated to interest the feelings both of the scholar and the christian; and which necessarily involve the literary respectability and intellectual progress, as well as the religious well-being of the community. The dissertations, which are embodied in the publication, appear in three parts, and are followed by the notes, just now alluded to, from the spirited pen of the translator.

The principal author of part first, as we are informed in the preface, is Dr J. Jahn, an archbishop in the catholic church

at Vienna, and formerly professor in the university there of the oriental languages, biblical archaiology, higher criticism, and doctrinal theology.

The second part, which is short and occupied chiefly with the proper mode of studying the Hebrew, is translated from the preface to the small Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius, who is professor at the university at Hallé, and author of a valuable Hebrew lexicon, and many other philological works.

The third part is an extract from the dissertation, prefixed to the Εκλογαι Ἱστορικαι of Wyttenbach, formerly professor of Greek at Leyden, and is introduced to enforce the opinion and the recommendations of Jahn, in regard to the *repetition* of the lessons, which the student has taken, until he becomes able not only to construe them with ease, but to feel in his own bosom the inspiration and the power with which they were originally written.

Among the various subjects introduced into this publication, the topic, which chiefly occupies the dissertation of Jahn, is the study of the Hebrew. The arguments, which he uses, to show the importance of a knowledge of the Hebrew, are such, we believe, as cannot be readily overthrown; and were we certain that they would be read by all who peruse these pages, we should be quite willing to leave the subject, without any additional observations, in the hands of so able an arbiter. But knowing the probability that this will not be the case, and being in some degree acquainted with the state of sacred literature in our country, we deem it proper to give our own testimony on the point, and to aid the exertions of professor Stuart, to promote among us a more creditable knowledge of the original languages of the bible. 'The holy bible,' says Jahn, 'is the principal source of theology; the fountain, from which, in a special manner, all science of religion is drawn; the foundation, on which its doctrines are built.' If this be the case, it is altogether reasonable to expect from those, who set themselves up as teachers in religion, that they should be minutely acquainted both with its character and the instructions it communicates. An inquiry then arises, whether a man can obtain such a thorough knowledge of the bible, as to authorize him to assume the insignia and perform the sacred duties of a public religious instructer, without an acquaintance with the languages in which it was originally written. Those, who maintain the affirmative of this question, will perhaps tell us,

that a *translation* is an adequate substitute for the original, and that there is no absolute need either of Greek or Hebrew, provided a man can read his mother tongue.

We are inclined to admit the accuracy of professor Stuart's assertion, who maintains, in one of his notes, that the worst translation which was ever made of the scriptures, contains all that is *essential* to religion, either as it respects doctrine or practice. Some translations, he observes, have added things to the scriptures which religion does not require, and some have made one part of the bible to gainsay another; but the worst translation never removed nor wholly obscured the great and leading principles of revealed religion. This is readily admitted, and we may add too in regard to the English translation in particular, that in the main it is a good one, that it is extremely creditable to the age in which it was made, and would probably be a real sufferer, if it were trusted in the hands of modern English divines for the purpose of being amended.

But, although it may be considered by some a gratuitous assertion on our part, we appeal to the experience of every real scholar in our behalf, when we say, that the best translation existing, whether of the classics or the Bible, fails in a vast number of instances of conveying the precise shape and the true spirit of the original. This results necessarily from the imperfection of language, and is more especially true in regard to versions made from the Hebrew and Chaldaic, in which the Old Testament is written, because these languages differ so widely in many important respects from those of Europe.

We have good translations in English of many of the classics, but certainly the man would gain no credit to himself, who should seriously maintain his thorough acquaintance with the style, the general spirit, and the peculiarities of Homer, from merely having read him in the Iliad and Odyssey of Pope, or even in the more literal version of Cowper. It is not surprising, then, that many parts of our common version, for instance, the books of Job and Isaiah, should convey an imperfect notion of the splendid beauties of their originals. Nor can an adequate acquaintance with those beauties, nor indeed in all cases with the grammatical sense, be obtained even by the additional aid of a commentary.

That the inadequacy of translations cannot be compensated by the aid of a *practical* or *religious* commentary merely is

sufficiently clear; and a critical and exegetical one, such as Rosenmüller's on the Old, and Kuinoel's on the New Testament, so far from lending the desired assistance, we venture to say, can neither be fully understood nor estimated without a previous knowledge to some extent of the originals themselves. Provided, moreover, they *could* be understood, the person who trusts to them wholly, without being able to investigate for himself, cannot be sure a single moment that he is not the dupe of the commentator, or that the commentator is not himself deceived.

And while in regard to *public* teachers of religion, we maintain that a suitable knowledge of the Bible cannot be acquired from translations merely, and commentaries, we may add, as a further inducement for the acquisition of such knowledge, that without it a person will be unable, not only to answer those, who when disputed appeal to the originals, but will be equally unable to defend with any hope of success the genuineness of the sacred writings. If any one, for instance, should undertake to show that the gospel of Luke or the prophecies of Isaiah were written at the time and in the circumstances, in which they profess to have been, without a knowledge of those peculiarities of style, which can be learnt only by an acquaintance with the originals, he would certainly show himself to have undertaken a task altogether above his ability. We would gladly extend our remarks on this point, but we can only say at present, we hope, the clerical associations and presbyteries of our country will not, by lending the sanction of their authority, encourage young men to go forth in the high character of heralds of the cross, without that thorough and fundamental knowledge of the Bible, for which Jahn and his translator so strenuously and reasonably contend. If they are too dull to learn, it is much the wisest to conclude, that the Deity never intended them for his ambassadors, and if too indolent, there is no hazard in considering it as certain that he wants no such degenerate workmen in his vineyard. It is not merely the study of the Hebrew, which is urged upon us in these dissertations; we are invited likewise to the study of its related dialects, and on this point also we should do injustice to our feelings, were we not to express our opinions, however concisely. The Hebrew is a dialect of an ancient language, which was spoken originally in Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Æthiopia, and Babylon. Although the dialects of this

widely diffused and ancient language are nearly related to each other, and show themselves at first glance to be sisters of the same family, they may conveniently be divided into three principal classes. The first is the Aramæan, so called from the Hebrew word אֲרָם, the biblical name for Syria and the adjacent countries, which divided itself again into the provincial dialects, denominated the east and west Aramæan, or Chaldaic and Syriac. The second class comprehends the Canaanitish, or Hebrew, and the Phœnician, of which last, however, there are but very few remains. The third embraces the Arabic and Æthiopic. The Samaritan appears to be a mixture of the Hebrew and Aramæan. By Jerome and others of the fathers these dialects were denominated Oriental, but the term appearing to be too general, Eichhorn has introduced another, and chooses to denominate them the Shemitish. To the latter term, however, as well as the former, there is an objection, inasmuch as the Canaanites and Æthiopians were descendants of Ham, instead of Shem. But as it is of no essential consequence which term we use, provided we understand what is meant by it, we shall content ourselves for the present with applying to the dialects, which have been mentioned, indifferently either of the terms, Shemitish or Oriental. The acquisition of these dialects is quite easy to one, as will readily be imagined, who is well grounded in the Hebrew, and, although a man may become a respectable and highly useful minister without them, a knowledge of them, especially of the Aramæan and Arabic, is very desirable. At least, those who deny the utility of such knowledge would do well to remember that a portion of the Old Testament, and that not a very small one, is written in the dialect of Aram, and that we are bound to study this dialect for the same cause, although the obligation is of less urgency, that we are bound to study the Hebrew or the Greek of the New Testament.

The parts of the Old Testament written in Chaldee are Daniel, from the fourth verse of the second, to the commencemont of the eighth chapter; and Ezra, from the eighth verse of the fourth, to the twenty seventh of the seventh chapter. It ought to be remembered also, that this dialect is very similar to the Hebrew, both in the construction of its sentences and the signification of its words, as might be expected from its being one of the same kindred. Hence we are often enabled by its assistance to illustrate the meaning of an obscure word,

and to explain a difficult construction. The truth of this assertion, in respect to the Chaldee, and equally so in regard to the Arabic and Syriac, will be sufficiently clear by turning to any able exegetical commentary on the Bible. And this is so easily done, that we do not deem it necessary to introduce instances here in proof of it. A reference to the cognate dialects of the Hebrew is found particularly necessary and useful in the explanation of those difficult words which occur but once in the Hebrew, and are technically denominated Ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. There are many pure Aramæan words found scattered in different parts of Job, Ecclesiastes, and other books of the Old Testament, and Aramæan forms, both of verbs and nouns, are not unfrequent. The aid, which the cognate dialects of the Hebrew afford in the interpretation of the Bible, is not limited to the Old Testament; they throw light also on a number of obscure passages in the New. 'Several expressions of the New Testament,' says J. D. Michaelis in his introduction to it, 'receive great light from the Arabic. I will not call such passages Arabisms, though many of the sermons of Christ were held on the eastern or Arabian side of the Jordan, where John the Baptist chiefly resided, and many other opportunities might have introduced Arabic expressions into the language of Palestine. The oriental languages have a striking affinity with each other; but as we know more of the Arabic, than of either Hebrew, Chaldee, or Syriac, it is not surprising that many passages of the New Testament can be explained from that language alone.' The Chaldee Targums, so called from the Chaldee word תַּרְגּוּם, which signifies Interpretation or Paraphrase, particularly those of Onkelos and Jonathan, have been and always will be held in estimation by the theologian, for the testimony which they afford to the genuineness of the present Hebrew text, and for the helps they offer for the better understanding both of the Old and New Testament. They are spoken of by Bishop Walton, whose merits, as an oriental scholar, no one will dispute, in the following favorable terms, selected from his Prolegomena. 'Primo, textui Hebræo testimonium ferunt, ejusque integritatem confirmant. Secundo, in multis locis articulos fidei Christianæ confirmant, et contra Judæos fortissima argumenta suppeditant. Tertio, in textibus difficilibus, locis obscuris, et vocabulis inusitatis multum lucis afferunt. Dum ritus, consuetudines, historias, vocabulorum significationem genuinam, sensumque

literalem explicant, quæ ipsis ex majorum traditione accepta, melius quam nobis nota erant.' The Phœnician, one of the Shemitish dialects, has become, as before remarked, nearly extinct. The history of the Samaritans is interesting on account of their connexion with the Jews, being of a like origin and a kindred religion; but the treasures of their language are so small, that the acquisition of it may be properly superseded by other studies of more prominent and real importance. Perhaps the same may be said with equal justice of the Æthiopic, especially as it is so intimately connected with the Arabic, that a knowledge of the latter will afford nearly all the aid, which could be derived from a combined acquaintance with both. The Samaritan Pentateuch, which was unknown in Europe till the seventeenth century, although quoted by the Fathers, was at length procured from the east by archbishop Usher, and was printed by Morinus in 1632 from a copy deposited in the oratory of St Honoré. It at first, as might be expected, excited much curiosity, but, although ancient, its authority and value are not wisely placed above, nor put in competition with the worth of the Hebrew text. The Samaritan Pentateuch, together with the Psalms, Song of Solomon, and New Testament, in Æthiopic, may be found in Walton's Polyglott.

From these remarks, it will be easy to infer our opinion respecting the study of the cognate dialects of the Hebrew. To a professed biblical critic, one who makes the interpretation of the Bible his whole study, they are all of them important, but we should find no fault with the ordinary theologian, if he should exercise the wisdom and summon up the resolution to become acquainted merely with the Aramæan and the Arabic.

These, the Arabic and the Aramæan, which includes the Chaldee and Syriac, we trust will never be neglected by our young men, (those, we mean, who are preparing for the pulpit,) from principle, although we fear they will often be neglected from necessity. The Arabic in particular is not a language, like the others, which was living, but is dead, whose great men flourished, but are no more, whose works existed, but have perished. It is a living language, is very extensively spoken, and is worthy of peculiar attention. A vast number of Arabian writers flourished during that dark period, when Europe was enveloped in ignorance. Animated with

the true literary ardor, 'they seized and transmitted the torch of science,' when, if it had been left to other hands, it would have fallen and been extinguished. Under the patronage of Almamun, who was a great lover of learning, they translated the best Greek authors, and they did not want among themselves for men, who excelled in history, in poetry, in mathematics, and medicine. With how much sweetness and simplicity they could touch the lyre of the muses is known to many of our readers from the 'Specimens of Arabian Poetry,' which Professor Carlyle presented to the English public. In justice to the fine taste and poetical feeling, as well as the scholarship of their amiable translator, we cannot forbear copying one of these specimens. It is written by Ben Yousef, who for many years acted as vizier to Abou Nasser, sultan of Diarbeker. He was passionately devoted to literature, notwithstanding his high station in political life, and composed the following stanzas, as in his travels he passed through the beautiful valley of Bozáa:

'The intertwining boughs for thee
Have wove, sweet dell, a verdant vest,
And thou in turn shall give to me,
A verdant couch upon thy breast.

To shield me from day's fervid glare
Thine oaks their fostering arms extend,
As anxious o'er her infant care
I've seen a watchful mother bend.

A brighter cup, a sweeter draught,
I gather from that rill of thine,
Than maddening drunkards ever quaffed,
Than all the treasures of the vine.

So smooth the pebbles on its shore,
That not a maid can thither stray,
But counts her strings of jewels o'er,
And thinks the pearls have slipped away.'

Princes were poets, and in many instances the sons of song were treated like princes. If our readers wish to be further informed on the subject of the Arabic and the other related dialects, to understand the treasures they contain and their connexion with biblical criticism, we refer them to the Dissertations before us, particularly that of Jahn, and note G of Professor Stuart. Such works also, as Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe, Gesenius' Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, Eichhorn's Einleitung, and Walton's Prolegomena are calculated to give some true idea both of its nature and importance.

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Another topic, introduced into the Dissertations, relates to the best mode of studying languages. Many of the remarks made by Gesenius, and the other authors of these Dissertations, on this point, are grounded in the nature of the human mind, are confirmed by their own experience in teaching, and are worthy the attention of the scholar, whatever his country and wherever he may be educated. It is a grand point in the acquisition of languages, while the faculties are kept in patient and vigorous exercise, not to burden them with too many dry details, and especially not to overload and constrain the memory. In the study of the Hebrew, after a person has become fundamentally acquainted with the theory of the vowels, and made himself master of the pronouns, verbs, and declensions, he ought not to be denied the pleasure of attempting to construe, and should endeavour to connect the theory and the practice, the grammar and the interpretation. 'Grammar,' says Jahn, 'is merely the medium of learning the languages with more facility, but the medium is not to be so commuted for the ultimate end, that more pains should be bestowed on the former than on the latter.' The Hebrew syntax, though not deficient in general principles, exhibits a multitude of peculiarities and exceptions. To commit to memory the whole of it, together with all the multiplied rules and exceptions, which appear in other parts of the grammar in the first instance, is unadvisable. They had better be learned by a recurrence to them, as occasion may require, after the student has begun to construe; a recurrence which will be pleasing, if he has imbibed the spirit of oriental literature. Let the student, after he has studied the whole or a part of a book, pursue the method of Wyttenbach, peruse it again carefully, and repeat the perusal, till he has trodden familiarly the crooked path of its anomalies, and its beauties begin to open more fully upon his mind.

ART. VI.—*Memoirs of Algernon Sydney, by George Wilson Meadley, with an Appendix.* 8vo, London, 1813. E. Brooks

No portion of English history presents stronger claims to attention than the last sixty years of the seventeenth century, a period in which that nation made the most rapid advances in civil and religious freedom. It is impossible to

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trace without lively interest the progress of the spirit of free inquiry to which the reformation gave birth, and the great change in manners and opinions which resulted from it. This revolution in the minds of men was gradual, and for a long time unnoticed. The novel doctrines of the rights of subjects and the duties and accountableness of sovereigns, began early in that century to be agitated, rather as matter of speculation than with any view to their practical application. These opinions, however, soon gained ground, and began to be openly advanced and defended, when an ill-timed and oppressive exercise of the royal prerogative roused the resentment of the nation and led to a struggle, which terminated in the overthrow of the monarchy, and the death of the sovereign. The reaction, which naturally succeeded to a revolution so sudden and violent, had the effect to replace his son on the throne, with a degree of precipitancy and imprudence which gave no opportunity to obtain any provision for the security of the rights of the subject. These rights were accordingly disregarded by a profligate and thoughtless prince, who forgot even the trifling stipulations on which his restoration depended. The spirit of liberty had now however proceeded too far to be extinguished; the nation soon became sensible of its error; this weak and unprincipled family was again driven from the throne, and the century closed with the accession of William III, and the establishment of the British constitution nearly in the form in which it actually exists. Among the actors in this extraordinary train of events, are to be found some of the most illustrious names in modern history. Of this number Algernon Sydney is one of the most conspicuous His noble descent, his ardent and lofty spirit, the boldness of his opinions, and the intrepidity with which he supported them, the misfortunes of his life, and above all his untimely and cruel fate, conspire to excite an unusual degree of interest. As generally happens to those who fall a sacrifice to opinions, his memory has been cherished by his friends with the most enthusiastic devotion; and we may add, what can be said of few martyrs, that those who have discovered the least indulgence for his political creed, have rarely denied him the merit of consistency and disinterestedness. The part he took in political affairs is well known to the readers of history, but we have been furnished, until the publication of the volume under review, with very scanty information respecting his private life.

Nor is the deficiency so fully supplied by this work as we had reason to expect from the author's preface, in which he mentions the advantages he derived from having access to the manuscripts at Penshurst, and other important papers. Although by no means a new publication in England, Mr Meadley's book is very little known in this country; we shall therefore give a short abstract of its contents, which may enable the reader to form a tolerably correct judgment of the author's success.

Algernon Sydney was descended from a line of ancestors equally distinguished by rank and merit. His great grandfather, sir William Sydney, was a favorite of Edward VI, who bestowed on him the park and manor of Penshurst in Kent; sir Henry Sydney, who was viceroy in Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, and the well known sir Philip Sydney, were his great uncles. His grandfather, sir Robert Sydney, governor of Flushing, was raised to the peerage by James I, as baron Sydney of Penshurst, and afterwards created viscount Lisle and earl of Leicester. From him the title descended to his son, who seems to have inherited with it no small share of the talents and virtues of his illustrious progenitors. He married the lady Dorothy Percy, daughter of the earl of Northumberland. Algernon, their second son, was born in 1622, and appears to have given early indications of uncommon powers. In 1632, at the age of ten years, he, with his elder brother, the lord Lisle, accompanied his father in his embassy to Christian IV, king of Denmark. In 1636 his father was appointed ambassador to the court of France, and wishing to have his sons under his immediate inspection, he again took them along with him, and to his instructions, and the objects presented to the mind of young Sydney at that period, is in a great measure ascribed his early bias to political inquiries. On the return of lord Leicester to England, his son was sent to Italy, and resided some time at Rome during the pontificate of Urban VIII.

On the death of the unfortunate lord Strafford, the earl of Leicester received the appointment of lord lieutenant of Ireland, (June 14, 1641,) but owing to some distrust of him, which the king had afterwards imbibed, he could not procure his despatch. He sent, however, his two sons into Ireland, the lord Lisle being at the head of a regiment of horse, in which Algernon, then in his nineteenth year, commanded a troop.

Here both the brothers acquitted themselves with great honor against the Irish insurgents. Meanwhile the disputes between the king and the parliament had proceeded to an open rupture, and lord Leicester, notwithstanding his late disappointment, espoused the royal cause. Some jealousy however of his sincerity still existing in the mind of the king, he was unable to obtain possession of his government in Ireland; at which he was so much offended, that he soon retired to Penshurst, and seems never after to have taken an active part in politics. The two brothers quickly discovered that they had not escaped the suspicion that had fallen on their father, and in consequence obtained permission to return to England. They arrived at Chester, August 1643, where their horses were seized by the royalists in violation of their father's license, which induced them again to put to sea. On landing soon after at Liverpool, they were detained by the commissioners of the parliament till farther orders were received respecting them. A letter from Sydney to Orlando Bridgman, a royalist of Chester, praying that his horses might be restored to enable him to proceed to join the king at Oxford, and professing attachment to the royal cause, was intercepted, and in consequence himself and his brother were sent under guard to London. This circumstance tended to exasperate the king, who imputed it to an artifice of their own; and from this time Sydney appears to have deserted his interest, for we find that on the 10th of May, 1644, he was appointed a captain of horse in the duke of Manchester's army, the parliament voting four hundred pounds for his equipments and arrears. In a few weeks he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and on the 2d of July was seriously wounded, while charging gallantly at the head of his regiment in the battle of Marston Moor. When the army was new modelled (1645) Sydney procured the command of a regiment of horse in Cromwell's division of the army under the command of sir Thomas Fairfax. He bore upon his banner the following motto: '*Sanctus amor patriæ dat animum.*'

On the 10th of May, in the same year, he was appointed governor of Chichester, and soon after elected into parliament for the borough of Cardiff. Although the royal cause in England had received a fatal blow at Naseby, (June 14, 1645,) and the king had surrendered himself to the Scots, his adherents in Ireland still kept the field in considerable force. Lord

Lisle was appointed lord lieutenant, in the place of lord Inchiquin, who had incurred the suspicion of the parliament, but who nevertheless, had sufficient influence in that body to prevent his successor from obtaining possession of his government until the year for which it had been granted had nearly expired. Sydney accompanied his brother to Ireland; two thousand pounds were voted in payment of his arrears, (Jan. 4, 1646–7,) and he was appointed lieutenant-general of horse in that kingdom, and governor of Dublin. Their stay in Ireland was short, for the interest of the lord Inchiquin was sufficient to prevent the renewal of lord Lisle's commission, as well as to remove Sydney from his post. In consequence, the brothers returned to England in April, and received the thanks of the parliament for their good conduct.

At this period the contest between the presbyterians and independents was proceeding with the utmost violence; the former endeavoring to preserve the ascendency they possessed in the parliament, and the latter, of whom the army was principally composed, strongly inclined to make use of the power they derived from this circumstance to put a stop to the arbitrary and selfish proceedings of their opponents. Sydney, who was entirely free from religious enthusiasm, seems not to have sided with either of those factions, but to have uniformly endeavored, by mildness and impartiality, to uphold amid the tempest of the passions the cause of rational liberty. This contest was soon terminated by the violent measures of the army, who obtained possession by force of the person of the king, and removed the last impediment to their views by violently expelling the presbyterians from their seats in parliament. They next demanded the trial of the king, which the house was not in a situation to resist, and a commission was raised to sit in judgment upon him. Both Sydney and his brother were members of this court, and the former attended some of the preliminary meetings in the painted chamber. They were neither of them present, however, in Westminster Hall, but retired together to Penshurst, where they remained until sentence had been pronounced, and a warrant signed for the execution of their unhappy sovereign. It is difficult to account for the behaviour of Sydney at this momentous period, which seems not very consistent with his character or conduct on other occasions. That his declining to take a part in the condemnation of the king did not arise from con-

scientious scruples, is plain from his political principles, as laid down in his writings, from his frequently expressing his approbation of that act, and from the consequence he seems to have maintained in the parliament, where we find him on the 15th of May in the same year on a committee for settling the succession, and regulating the election of future parliaments. Nor does his family appear to have fallen under suspicion; for, although his father was obliged to sign the engagement of fidelity to the commonwealth, the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth were intrusted by the parliament to the care of lady Leicester, with an allowance of three thousand pounds a year.

Sydney had been invested (13th of Oct. 1648) with the government of Dover castle. In the winter of 1650-1 he became involved in a quarrel with the officers of the garrison there, which gave rise to a court martial, whose report was unfavorable to Sydney. Thinking himself aggrieved, he applied to the parliament for redress, which he at last obtained, not without great inconvenience and delay. In the mean time, he went over to the Hague, where he had a quarrel with the earl of Oxford, whom he challenged, but the affair was settled without bloodshed.

On his return to England (1651) Sydney was assiduous in attention to his duties in parliament, and as a member of the council of state. The firm and vigorous administration of affairs at home, and the great success of the fleet under Blake, had now raised the spirits of the nation to a high pitch, and Sydney, ever alive to the true interest and prosperity of his country, began to look forward with the most exulting hopes. These pleasing anticipations were soon blasted by the ambitious projects of Cromwell, who saw with the utmost concern the attachment of the nation to a republican form of government, which it was far from his intention to establish. Failing in all his endeavors to bring the parliament to his views, he at length threw off the mask, and on the 16th of April 1653 dissolved that assembly by force. The conduct of Sydney on that memorable occasion is thus related in lord Leicester's journal: 'It happened that Algernon Sydney sat next the speaker, on the right hand; the general said to Harrison, put him out; Harrison spake to Sydney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The general said again put him out; then Harrison and Worsley put their hands upon

Sydney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out; when he rose and went towards the door.' The indignation of Sydney at this and the subsequent measures of Cromwell was so openly and loudly expressed, as to give great offence to his brother, who adhered to the general. Unable to endure so mortifying a change in affairs, he sought at Penshurst, among the scenes of his childhood, to alleviate his chagrin in the society of his family. Here he remained until the restoration of peace with the United Provinces in 1654, when he again went over to the Hague, where he contracted an intimacy with the celebrated John De Witt, for whom he seems ever after to have entertained the highest admiration. On his return to England, Sydney again retired to Penshurst, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits. We find among his productions at this period an 'Essay on Love.' On the 3d of Sept. 1658, Cromwell died; and on the 7th of May 1659, the Long parliament was restored, and Sydney resumed his seat in that body, as well as at the council board. He had, however, little opportunity to distinguish himself in parliament during the interval between the death of the protector and the restoration of the king, for on the 5th of June he was appointed a commissioner with admiral Montagu, Honeywood and Boon, to mediate, in conjunction with the States General, a peace between the kings of Denmark and Sweden. This negotiation Sydney at length succeeded in bringing to a happy termination, though greatly embarrassed by the defection of Montagu, the selfish policy of the Dutch, and the unreasonable demands of both the contending parties. Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, died before the conference was brought to a close. Sydney had conceived a high idea of his opinions and character, and felt a warm interest in the affairs of his young successor, Charles XI, who, on his taking leave of the court, (June 28, 1660) presented him with a gold chain and a picture of his father in a case set with diamonds. On the 8th of July he joined his colleague at Copenhagen, and on the 21st of the same month took leave of the king of Denmark. In the mean time the restoration of Charles II had taken place, and Sydney, while Honeywood returned to England to report their proceedings, thought it prudent to retire to Hamburg, until he should be advised of the temper of the court, and the situation of those, who, like himself, had borne a leading part in the service of the commonwealth. He at first entertained hopes

from the intimate connexion of Monk with himself and his family, and from some favorable expressions that had been reported to him from that minister, that he should be permitted to return to England on the honorable terms, on which alone he would consent to it. He was soon convinced by the treatment of his associates, and the treachery of Monk, that he had no hope of being received, but upon conditions which he considered disgraceful. He rejected with disdain the splendid offers made him by Monk; and to a friend, who had expostulated with him on his inflexibility, he vindicates his conduct in a letter, which, as the author justly observes, would have done honor to the noblest characters of Greece and Rome. We would gladly lay it before our readers entire, but its length obliges us to confine ourselves to the following extract:

'I confess we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine. I hope I have given some testimony of it. I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myself from it with the loss of a great deal of my blood. But when that country of mine, which used to be esteemed a paradise, is now like to be made a stage of injury; the liberty we hoped to establish oppressed; luxury and lewdness set up in its height, instead of the piety, virtue, sobriety, and modesty which we hoped God by our hands would have introduced; the best of our nation made a prey to the worst; the parliament, court, and army corrupted; the people enslaved; all things vendible, no man safe but by such evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery; what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleasure to see all that I love in the world is sold and destroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court arts, and make my peace by bribing some of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my safety? Ah! no: better is a life among strangers, than in my own country on such conditions. Whilst I live, I will endeavour to preserve my liberty, or at least not consent to the destroying of it. I hope I shall die in the same principles in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preserve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies; but, as I think, of no meanness. I will not blot and defile that which is past, by endeavoring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind that when God should cast me into such a condition, as I cannot save my life but by doing an indecent thing, he shews me the time is come wherein I should resign it: and, when I cannot live in my own country but by such means as are worse than dying in it, I think he shews me I ought to keep myself out of it.'

The conduct of Sydney was conformable to the sentiments here expressed. Conscious of honest intentions, he had nothing to repent of; having, as he supposed, supported the rights and liberties of his country, and consulted her best interests, he could not make concessions to men whom he looked upon as her enemies and oppressors. He did not take the least pains to conceal his political opinions. In visiting one of the public libraries at Copenhagen, he wrote the famous lines in the Album:

> 'Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
> Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem;'

which Terlon, the French ambassador, on hearing it translated, for he did not understand Latin, indignantly tore from the book, as an insult to his sovereign. When it was observed to him in company at Copenhagen, 'I think you were none of the late king's judges, nor guilty of his death?' He instantly replied, '*Guilty! do you call that guilt?* Why it was the justest and bravest action that ever was done in England or any where else.'

As might have been expected from such a course, Sydney was excepted from the general amnesty, and his application for an assurance of safety during a residence of a few months at Penshurst, for the arrangement of his private concerns, was refused. Sydney was more and more convinced by the fate of the republicans who had trusted to the king's promises, and the profligacy and perfidy which marked the whole conduct of that monarch, that he could not with safety return to England. Hopeless and deserted, he was at a loss what course to take. After remaining some time at Hamburg, he wandered, apparently without an object, into Germany, and passed through the territories of Lunenburg, Brunswick, and Hesse, where the poverty and desolation of the country, and the fierce manners of the inhabitants seem to have had no very favorable effect upon his agitated mind. On reaching Frankfort on the Mayn, he found a milder and more fertile climate. Here he received intelligence from England, which was not calculated to remove the melancholy that had taken possession of him. He seems to have incurred the displeasure of his father, though we are not distinctly told on what account; his pecuniary circumstances were embarrassed, in consequence of advances he had made to lord Strangford, his brother in law, a vicious and prodigal man, as well as by the expenses of his late employ-

ment. In these distressing circumstances he had thoughts of offering his services to the emperor Leopold, then engaged in a war against the Turks. This design he soon relinquished, and pursued his original intention of proceeding to Italy.

Meanwhile, the persecutions against the republicans proceeding with great rigor, in open violation of faith and honor, Sydney had reason to congratulate himself on the state of comparative security he enjoyed at Rome, where he arrived late in the autumn (1660.) Alexander VII, who then filled the papal chair, was a pontiff of a mild and gentle character. His prime minister and favorite, cardinal Pallavicini, was no less remarkable for his learning, than for his political sagacity and personal merit. With him Sydney soon contracted an acquaintance, and through him became known to several other members of the Sacred College, particularly to cardinal Chigi, the pope's nephew, Francesco and Antonio Barberini, Sachetti, and Spada, of whom, as well as of the prelates generally, he spoke in terms of respect. 'I do not find,' says he, 'that they want any quality that makes men estimable; and they are so far from that looseness of life, of which they have been formerly and ordinarily accused, that I have not seen any of that order do an indecent thing; and yet I mark them as narrowly as I can.'

In such society Sydney found some alleviation of his misfortunes. The only inconvenience he suffered was in consequence of injurious reports that were spread respecting his religious principles by some of his own countrymen. 'These however,' he says, 'are but slight vapors; and if nothing comes from England to my prejudice, I can easily blow them away.' During the three years that Sydney passed in Italy, he was no inattentive observer of the political occurrences of that period, nor of the manners and customs of the people. The following is a curious specimen of the habits of the court of Rome:

'The skill of preserving health, he says in one of his letters, is in great perfection in this place, exercised most upon old men. Little physic is used, things that are cooling and desiccative are mostly chosen. Their rules are reduced to these two principal heads, a slender diet, and much exercise. An old cardinal the other day told me that in other places exercise was good *citra sudorem*, but in Rome, by reason of the grossness of the air, it must be used *usque ad sudorem*. Besides the natural desire of living long and well, they are invited unto a more than ordinary

care, by hopes of advancing their fortune, few attaining unto any great matter here until they come to be old. Cardinal Sacchetti is now in his seventy-fifth year, and doth ordinarily walk three or four miles without resting, by which means he enjoys a prosperous health, and preserves his wits fresh and clear as in his youth.'

During the summer, several of the most distinguished persons in Rome invited him to accompany them to their villas in the neighborhood of the city. He availed himself of the kindness of prince Pamfili, nephew of the late pope Innocent X, who offered him apartments in his villa of Belvidere near Frascati. In one of his letters he thus describes his situation at this charming retreat:

'Whilst every body at Rome is panting and gasping for life in the heat, which they say this year is much greater than ordinary, I enjoy so fresh an air as to have no reason at all to complain of the sun. Here are walks and fountains in the greatest perfection, and though my natural delight in solitude is very much increased this last year, I cannot desire to be more alone than I am, and hope to continue. My conversation is with birds, trees, and books: In these last months that I have no business at all, I have applied myself to study a little more than I have done formerly; and though one who begins at my age cannot hope to make any considerable progress this way, I find so much satisfaction in it, that for the future I shall very unwillingly, though I had the opportunity, put myself in any way of living that shall deprive me of that entertainment. Whatever hath been formerly the object of my thoughts and desires, I have now intention of seeking little more than quietness.'

In a subsequent letter, he adds:

'Nature, art, and treasure can hardly make a place more pleasant than this. The description of it would look more like poetry than truth. A Spanish lady coming not long since to see this house, seated on a large plain out of the middle of a rock, and a river brought to the top of the mountain, with the walks and fountains, ingeniously desired those that were present, not to pronounce the name of our Saviour, lest it should dissolve this beautiful enchantment. We have passed the solstice, and I have not yet had occasion to complain of heat, which in Rome is very excessive and hath filled the town with sickness, especially that part of it where I lived. Here it is that I look for health, quiet, and solitude. I am with some eagerness fallen to reading, and find so much satisfaction in it, that though I every morning see the sun rise, I never go abroad until six or seven of the clock at

night; yet I cannot be so sure of my temper as to know certainly how long this manner of life will please me. I cannot but rejoice a little to find, that when I wander as a vagabond through the world, forsaken of my friends, and known only to be a broken limb of a shipwrecked faction, I yet find humanity and civility from those who are in the height of fortune and reputation.'

This grateful tribute to the hospitality of Rome has been uttered by a long succession of illustrious exiles from Sydney to our eloquent and lamented contemporary, Madame de Stael. In Rome the outcast and the friendless have ever found an asylum. She does not boast of toleration, but the sufferer for conscience' sake has rarely been driven from her walls. She does not hold herself up as the refuge of the oppressed, and call upon them to fly to her for protection, but year after year brings to her gates a throng of the persecuted and unfortunate, almost as numerous, and far more honorable, than the deputies who crowded the courts of her most powerful emperors. The abdicated queen of the north, the fugitive princes of Britain, the fallen dynasties of France and of Spain, have successively found a shelter, and learned a lesson of resignation, among the ruins of her imperial grandeur: the insulted advocate of popular rights reposes in honor and in peace with the kindred ashes of her Scipios and her Catos: the reviled and deserted sufferer for the cause of truth may tread with safety on the spot that is sprinkled with the blood of apostles. —'Apud ignotos, apud barbaros, apud homines in extremis atque ultimis gentibus positos, nobile et illustre apud omnes nomen tuæ civitatis profuisset.'—Though Sydney found here the repose of which he stood so much in need, he could not forget that he was in a state of dependence, and strove in vain to banish from his mind the recollection of his former hopes, or the anticipation of future sufferings. He says, in the same letter from which we have before quoted,

'But I do also well know I am in a strange land, how far those civilities do extend, and that they are too airy to feed or clothe a man. I cannot so unite my thoughts unto one object as absolutely to forbid the memory of such things as these are, to enter into them: but I go as far as I can, and since I cannot forget what is past, nor be insensible to what is present, I defend myself reasonably well from increasing or anticipating evils by foresight. The power of foreseeing is a happy quality unto those who prosper, and can ever propose to themselves something of

greater felicity than they enjoy, but a most desperate mischief unto them, who by forseeing, can discover nothing that is not worse than the evils they already feel. He that is naked, alone, and without help in the open sea, is less unhappy in the night when he may hope the land is near, than in the day when he sees it is not, and that there is no possibility of safety.'

The unrelenting severity with which those individuals of the republican party, who had fallen into the king's hands, had been treated, and the unworthy means that were made use of to destroy such of them as still eluded pursuit, began to alarm Sydney for his personal safety. One or two of his party had already fallen by the hands of assassins, from which no asylum can afford a perfect security. He therefore returned to the north of Europe, that he might not be wanting to his public duty, whilst he was more conveniently situated for the management of his private affairs. He left Italy in 1663, and in his way through Switzerland passed three weeks with Ludlow and his companions in exile at Vevai, assuring them of his friendship and affection, and in no respect declining to own the cause for which he suffered. From thence he proceeded through Germany to Flanders, and established himself in September at Brussels. Here, at the request of his father, his portrait was taken by Van Egmont, and is still preserved at Penshurst. In this perplexed state of his affairs, Sydney's active mind was on the stretch for some honorable occupation. He accordingly seized with avidity a proposal to engage in the service of the emperor in Hungary, with a body of troops raised among his old associates, and wrote to his father to ascertain how far the government of England was disposed to countenance the design.

'If there be any thing of reality in the proposition, says he, I can ascribe it only to the desire that those in power may have to send away those who are suspected by them. They shall have their end: I will serve them in it if they please, and upon more easy terms than will be expected by others I will undertake to transport a good strong body of the best officers and soldiers of our old army, both horse and foot. Though obtaining of this would be a very considerable advantage unto me and some of my friends, I do not ask it as a favor. I know neither they nor I shall receive any thing upon that account. The first that I ever did ask, and the least that I ever can ask, I mean the assurance of being permitted to live quietly at Penshurst, not having been granted, I am like to make few requests for the future. But as I

think that the advantage which the king expects by ridding the land of those persons, is the motive upon which the offer was made, I believe it to be a very considerable one; for they who find themselves suspected may possibly grow unquiet; the destroying of them will be a work of time, and not without difficulty and danger; and it cannot be expected that they will of their own accord leave their country, unless it be with some man of whom they have a good opinion, and all those are as little favored as I am. If it be granted, I hope to carry those who will gain honor unto the nation, wherever they go, and either find fortunes or graces for themselves. I doubt your lordship will be unwilling to propose this, lest it should make the king or ministers believe that I am upon better terms with my old companions, than you would have them think me. I desire your lordship to waive that scruple; I have credit enough with them for such a business as this is; and, if I were not thought at court to have far more than I have, they would not trouble themselves with me as much as they do. Whatsoever it is, I desire to make use of it to carry me, and a good number of those in the same condition, so far from England that those who hate us may give over suspecting us.'

This application was without effect, and Sydney had soon after additional reason to complain of the malice of his enemies at Augsburg, where he narrowly escaped assassination. Such implacable persecution drove him to the highest pitch of resentment, and disposed him to take advantage of any occasion that might offer to relieve himself and his friends from their unhappy condition, and his country from tyranny and oppression. On the breaking out of the war between England and the United Provinces in 1664, the English exiles looked forward with the most sanguine expectations to a cooperation in their favorite project of restoring the commonwealth. These hopes were encouraged by De Witt; and afterwards, when the United Provinces were joined by France, they made use of the exiles, by holding out the pretence of an invasion, to promote divisions among the English. Sydney and Ludlow were invited to Paris to conclude, under the auspices of the French government, a treaty for the restoration of the commonwealth, which had been already projected at the Hague. Sydney accordingly went to Frankfort, where he had a conference with the French resident at Mentz, who had repaired thither to meet them. Ludlow distrusting such allies, whose treachery towards his friends was still fresh in his recollection, declined any participation in the scheme. On being assured of personal

safety, Sydney proceeded alone to Paris, where he laid before the court his proposals for exciting an insurrection in England, demanding at the same time one hundred thousand crowns for that purpose. This the French government were not disposed to advance, until some disposition was shown on the part of his countrymen to concur in the undertaking. They however offered twenty thousand crowns, with the promise of further assistance when it should be thought necessary. This he declined, and, taking leave of the court, retired under a promise of security to the south of France. This chimerical project ended as might have been foreseen. The treaty of Breda was signed, (June 29, 1667,) without any provision for the unfortunate and deluded exiles. Sydney remained a long time in retirement, and very little seems to be known of him during the interval between his unsuccessful negotiation with the French court, and his return to England. He made known however the place of his retreat to his family, through sir William Temple, the English resident at Brussels, and son of his old friend and correspondent, sir John Temple. In 1670 it is said that lord Arlington, hearing from Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador, that Sydney was at Paris, proposed that a pension should be allowed him by the king of France, and that the king of England consented to it. There is no evidence however of its ever having been paid. Indeed Sydney appears to have been still an object of great jealousy to Charles II, who frequently expressed his dread of his determined principles and courage. During his residence in France an anecdote is related of him, which is so characteristic, that we shall insert it, though we do not know that it is supported by very good authority:

'The king of France having taken a fancy to a fine English horse on which he had seen him mounted in a chase, requested that he would part with it at his own price. On his declining the proposal, the king, determined to take no denial, gave orders to tender him money or to seize the horse. Sydney on hearing this instantly took a pistol and shot it, saying, "that his horse had been born a free creature, had served a free man, and should not be mastered by a king of slaves!"'

He is supposed, in the long season of leisure which this seclusion afforded, to have digested and composed his essays on government, for which he afterwards suffered most severely

and unjustly. In 1677 the health of lord Leicester rapidly declined, and he became very desirous to see his son Algernon once more before he died. Through the influence of his grandson, lord Sunderland, and the intercession of the French king, this request was granted, and Henry Savile, the British ambassador at Paris, succeeded in procuring an assurance of safety. Sydney accordingly came over to England in the autumn of 1677. On the 2d of November lord Leicester died, at the age of eighty two; and Sydney, after giving a discharge to his lordship's executors for the legacies bequeathed him, amounting only to five thousand two hundred pounds, intended to have returned immediately to his retirement. This he was unhappily prevented from doing by a suit in chancery, which his brother had commenced against him, for some portion of his father's property. The conduct of Sydney during the remainder of his life is involved in great mystery. He still continued the same bold and decided opposition to the arbitrary measures of the court, and was regarded by them with great suspicion. When the nation, soon after the marriage of the princess Mary with the prince of Orange, was very eager for a war with France, Sydney discouraged it with great vehemence, by which he subjected himself to the imputation of being pensioned by a foreign power. He however declared his disbelief of the king's sincerity, who was known to have discovered a most disgraceful subserviency to the French court. The parliament, which had originally shewn the most servile devotion to the wishes of the king, beginning to assume a tone of independence and decision, it was dissolved on the 24th of Jan. 1678-9, after an existence of eighteen years. A new parliament was soon after called, and Sydney, finding it impossible to return to the continent, stood for the borough of Guilford in Surry. He was warmly supported by the popular interest, but was defeated by the influence of the court party. Among his most zealous adherents was the celebrated William Penn, whose treatment on this occasion is thus related in 'Collins' Memoirs:' 'One Mr Penn, a quaker, appearing for the colonel, was called into the court, and hindered from encouraging such as were for the colonel; and told by the recorder that he was a jesuit, (in affront to the colonel,) to whom the recorder would have tendered oaths, (at that time contrary to law,) and at last the mayor turned him out of the court, and forbid him to appear amongst the colonel's party, to the great discouragement

of them; and more particularly such as were of the same persuasion with Mr Penn; amongst which party the colonel had several voices.' Sydney, at the instigation of Penn, presented a petition to parliament against the validity of this election, but without success. The new parliament proved less inclined than the last to favor the views of the king. The duke of York, who was under banishment, was forbidden to return to England, and a bill was passed excluding him from the throne, as a papist. These measures so alarmed the king that he prorogued the parliament on the 27th of May, without the consent or knowledge of his council, and, at the instigation of the duke of York, dissolved it in the following July. When the election for the new parliament took place, Sydney again offered himself as a candidate for the borough of Bramber in Sussex, where Penn exerted himself in his behalf with no less ardor than before. He had also the support of sir John Temple, younger brother to sir William Temple, and flattered himself with hopes of success. He was disappointed however by the exertions of his own family, who either dreading the impetuosity of his temper, or what is more probable, his firmness and decision, made interest for his younger brother Henry Sydney, then ambassador in Holland. Sydney in the mean time continued to be watched by the court with the utmost vigilance. He was accused to the king of being concerned in a plot of the nonconformists, which however, in an audience with his majesty he succeeded in explaining. He was near being involved in the *meal tub plot*, which, added to other persecutions, fixed him in the resolution to return to France, and the termination of his lawsuit removing the only obstacle, he went so far as to purchase in a friend's name a small estate in that country. Mr Meadley here takes notice of a charge which has been brought against Sydney of a mercenary intercourse with the French government. It is certain that when a project was in agitation of a league with the United Provinces against France, soon after the marriage of the prince of Orange with the princess Mary, Barillon, the French minister in England, entered into intrigues with the popular party for the purpose of preventing that measure. The correspondence between that minister and Louis XIV, which has been long before the world, puts this fact beyond a doubt. Barillon in his letters mentions the individuals with whom he has intercourse, and the sums of money he has paid to each. Among these are the

duke of Buckingham, lord Hollis, Mr Beber, Mr Harwood, Mr Montagu, lord Russell, and Mr Sydney. The two latter are mentioned as acting from the highest principles of honor, and the views of them all as having been to throw difficulties in the way of Charles' projects by the aid of France. Mr Meadley, aware of the imputation to which the character of Sydney is exposed, if the fact of the receipt of two sums of money with which Barillon has charged him be admitted, endeavors to make it appear that this minister deceived his master, and pretended to have advanced to the English republicans the sums that he actually put in his own pocket. In order to support this supposition, he adduces some expressions of Madame de Sevigné, from which it appears that Barillon amassed a great deal of wealth in his employment. This fact, when opposed to the extreme improbability of his resorting to a deception which could hardly fail to be discovered by his government, is not sufficient to sustain such a presumption. It must be conceded that the friends of liberty, alarmed and terrified to the last degree by the violent and despotic measures of the king, were driven to the necessity of opposing him with his own weapons. The servile and disgraceful manner in which the king and his ministers had sold themselves to France is well known; is it then surprising that these patriotic individuals should avail themselves of an opportunity to draw the means of serving the true interest of their country, from the same source to which their unprincipled monarch had resorted for the purpose of enslaving it? That most of them had any other motive in these negotiations is extremely unlikely. With regard to Sydney it is hardly credible, when his character and the circumstances of his connexion with Barillon are taken into consideration. He speaks of that minister in his letters with the greatest contempt, for his arrogant pretensions and disgusting manners. Barillon himself does not mention Sydney, as one with whom he is in habits of intimacy, much less as one whom he considers as his creature. 'Mr Algernon Sydney,' he says in one of his letters, 'is a man of the most enlarged views, and elevated designs, all of which are directed towards the establishment of a republic.' In another letter he observes, that many of the opposition, particularly Mr Sydney, had endeavored to convince him that it was a great error to suppose that the interests of France were necessarily opposed to the existence of a republican form of government in Eng-

land, and adds some of the reasons which were urged by them with that view. It seems therefore certain that if Sydney did receive assistance from France, it was with the intention of aiding the attainment of this darling object of his life. This presumption is confirmed by the difficulty of reconciling any other conclusion with Sydney's circumstances and previous conduct. Though not rich, he was not avaricious, and by no means so needy as to be driven to the necessity of resorting to such means of support. If he had been desirous of bettering his fortune, he had let slip many opportunities of doing it, much less exceptionable than this. Is it credible that a man, who at an early age had quitted the service of his king, in whose army he held a respectable rank, and entered into that of the opposite party, who again deserted Cromwell, and gave up his hopes of preferment, because he would not bend to his views, who rejected the tempting offers of Monk, and submitted to exile and want, rather than abjure his principles, should in his old age, when he had little to enjoy and less to hope for, degrade himself into the hireling of a foreign court? This may be true, but it requires stronger proof than has yet been produced to convince us of it. To return, the king on the dissolution of the parliament convened at Oxford in March 1681 issued a 'Declaration,' justifying his conduct in these repeated exertions of the royal authority. To this an answer appeared, entitled, 'A just and modest vindication of the proceedings of the two last parliaments.' The first sketch of this answer was from Sydney's pen, although it was afterwards redrawn by Somers, and finally corrected by sir William Jones.

Meanwhile the rapid strides with which the court was proceeding in the course of despotism, in open violation of justice and decency, filled the popular party with alarm, and induced them to cast their eyes on the duke of Monmouth, by favoring whose pretensions to the throne they hoped to avert the threatened danger. The leaders of that party accordingly entered into an intimate connexion with that nobleman. Sydney for some time declined all participation in their measures, principally from his aversion to lord Shaftsbury, who took a leading part in their counsels, and for whose character and conduct he entertained the greatest contempt. In November, 1682, lord Shaftsbury died, and Sydney was soon after prevailed upon by his friend, the earl of Essex, to bear a part in the consultations of that nobleman, the duke of Monmouth,

lord Russell, and the younger Hampden, on the situation of public affairs. The lord Howard of Escricke, an unprincipled but insinuating man, was by Sydney's persuasion admitted to their confidence. He had not long before been committed to the tower for a treasonable libel. Sydney on that occasion had interested himself warmly in his behalf, which led to an intimacy between them, that proved fatal not only to Sydney but his unfortunate associates. What was the nature of the measures agreed upon at these meetings we have no means of knowing, but by the declaration of lord Howard on the trials of Russell and Sydney, which is liable to great objections. That they were desirous to devise measures to guard against the arbitrary proceedings of the court, and to protect themselves and their country from impending ruin is very probable. The following is the account given by sir John Dalrymple of the characters and views of the associates. 'Russell, Hampden, and Essex, intended nothing more than to exclude the duke of York and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sydney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped amid public distractions to pave the way for himself to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular person and incited all to vigor and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life.' The proceedings of such distinguished persons were not unobserved by the court, who waited only for a pretence to fall upon them with the whole weight of its vengeance. Such an occasion was not long wanting. The *Rye house plot*, which was an extravagant project of certain deluded madmen to assassinate the king and the duke of York on their return from Newmarket, was the pretext laid hold of to get possession of the victims. Rumsey, one of those who were implicated in the assassination plot surrendered himself as a witness, and Sydney had many intimations from his friends of a design to arrest him. But notwithstanding that the duke of Monmouth had retired, Sydney protesting his innocence, took no precautions for his safety. On the 26th of June, whilst at dinner, he was arrested by an order from the privy council in the king's name, and in the course of a few minutes a second messenger arrived with an order to secure his papers. Finding nothing concealed, the messenger took possession of some manuscripts which lay upon the table,

and packing them in a trunk which stood beside it, desired Sydney to affix his seal. This he declined doing, as he was ignorant what had been put in. The messenger then affixed his own seal, promising that the packages should not be opened except in Sydney's presence. He could never afterwards however obtain possession of them. When brought before the privy council, he prudently declined answering most of the questions that were put to him, well knowing what advantage would be taken of any unguarded admissions. Although nothing appeared against him to justify his detention, he was most illegally committed to the tower, where his confinement was extremely rigorous. His money and bills in the hands of his banker, and all his other property, even to his wearing apparel, were seized. His friends, and even his servants, were denied access to him for the purpose of carrying him a change of linen. It was not till after repeated applications to the king and council, that Ducasse, a Frenchman in his confidence, was permitted to attend him. Lord Russell was already in custody. Howard, who was still at large, was continually protesting his disbelief of a plot and his ignorance of the alleged conspiracy. He applied to Sydney's servants to be intrusted with their master's plate, declaring his conviction of his innocence, and expressing his own great obligations to him in his imprisonment. He evinced nevertheless the greatest consternation, and was advised by his friends to keep out of the way. On the eighth of July, however, he was taken in his own house while endeavoring to conceal himself in a chimney. Hambden and Essex were soon afterwards committed to the tower, lord Grey of Wark, who was one of the association, having effected his escape, and the duke of Monmouth still evading his pursuers.

On the 20th of July three persons, convicted of a treasonable design to assassinate the king, suffered death, protesting, however, their entire ignorance of the crime for which they died. Lord Essex was found in his apartment in the tower with his throat cut. As he was supposed to have died by his own hands, this circumstance was made use of to produce an unfavorable influence on the minds of the jury against lord Russell, whose trial was hurried on that it might lose none of its effect. The principal evidence against him was lord Howard, who owed his own life to the sacrifice of his associates. Lord Russell was convicted of treason, and executed on the

twenty-first of July, discovering the greatest firmness during his trial, and the most dignified composure in the hour of death.

In the mean time the court was making the most strenuous exertions to procure evidence against Sydney. The lord Howard was ready to swear to the same facts against Sydney, which he had stated on the trial of lord Russell, but as the statute 25 Edward III, on which alone Sydney could be indicted, required two witnesses to an overt act of treason, it became necessary to procure a second. For this purpose the prisons were ransacked in vain, nor was the court more successful in an attempt to derive matter of accusation from himself. When a committee of the privy council were sent to examine him in the tower, he treated them roughly, observing, 'that they seemed to want evidence, and were come to draw it from his own mouth, but they should have nothing from him.' But the crown lawyers having gotten their prey within their fangs, were not to be disappointed. They accordingly resorted to other means to make up for this defect of testimony, and to counteract the talents and intrepidity of Sydney.

The chief justice of the king's bench being lately dead, sir George Jefferies, a king's sergeant, who had distinguished himself by his violence at lord Russell's trial, was promoted to the vacant seat, (Sept. 29, 1683,) and joined with three colleagues of similar principles and views. As a warning to all other judges, sir Francis Pemberton, who had conducted himself with some regard to decency at lord Russell's trial, was removed from his seat at the privy council, and his office as chief justice of the common pleas. It is known that Jefferies even consulted with the crown lawyers on the means of compassing the prisoner's death. At the same time two individuals entirely devoted to the service of the crown were appointed sheriffs of London and Middlesex, by a commission under the great seal, who selected for under sheriffs two others of the same character. These preliminary steps being taken, Sydney was informed by the lieutenant of the tower on the 6th of November, that he had received orders to bring him before the court of king's bench, by a writ of *habeas corpus* on the following day. He was conveyed to Westminster early in the morning, before the grand jury were assembled, or any *bill of indictment* had been exhibited against him, and

detained about an hour at a tavern, till the bill was found. On its being presented, he was hurried to the bar through a guard of soldiers and immediately arraigned. The indictment was long, confused, and perplexed, setting forth no overt act of treason precisely, nor any person with whom he had conspired. To this bill he excepted as vicious and erroneous, and desired to see the record, which was peremptorily denied by the chief justice, who insisted that he must either plead to the indictment or demur, which amounted to a confession of the fact. He then offered a special plea, quoting the three acts of treason, and desiring that the separate charges might be distinguished; which was also refused, unless waving the fact he would rest the case solely on that plea. Sydney then attempted to make some remarks in his own vindication, when he was interrupted by the chief justice, who declared, that unless he pleaded in the usual form, sentence should be instantly pronounced. He was thus obliged to abandon every advantage which the law allowed him, and by pleading not guilty to come to a general issue on the merits of his cause. A fortnight was allowed him to prepare for his trial; but a copy of the indictment, and the assistance of counsel, unless he should assign any particular point of law which the court might think proper to debate, were refused. The indictment was then read to him in Latin, but all information respecting the statute on which the attorney-general intended to proceed against him was refused.

When the day of trial approached, Sydney petitioned the king for a copy of the record of lord Russell's attainder, and of the indictment against himself, as necessary to his just defence; but his petition appears to have been disregarded. When Sydney was furnished with a pannel from which the jury was to be drawn, he found that it consisted chiefly of men of ruined character or fortunes, with or without freeholds, and chosen expressly by the solicitors of the crown. When Sydney appeared before the court, on the 21st of November, a copy of the indictment was again peremptorily refused to him, although he produced a transcript of the statute by which it is expressly allowed in all cases, and to all men. The jury being called, he excepted against several persons as being in the king's service, wanting freeholds, or having exposed themselves to infamy by some specific misconduct. But every special objection being overruled, he was forced to challenge peremp-

torily those whom he knew to have been chosen for his destruction, and thereby when his challenges were exhausted to admit of others of the same cast. After a speech from sir Robert Sawyer, the attorney-general, detailing the heads of the accusation, West, who having confessed many treasons was still unpardoned, Rumsey and Keiling were examined as to the design of a general insurrection, and although totally unconnected with the prisoner, were allowed to depose against him whatever they had heard from others. The king's counsel had not the effrontery to pretend that this was competent evidence, but it was artfully introduced to influence the minds of the jury, and to prepare them for the testimony of lord Howard. His evidence did not materially vary from what he had deposed at the trial of lord Russell. He gave a detail of two conversations which had passed between that nobleman, the duke of Monmouth, lord Essex, Young Hampden, the prisoner and himself, on the most effectual means of defending the public interest from invasion, without involving themselves in the obloquy of entertaining any selfish designs. Nothing, however, of moment appeared to be agreed upon at these meetings, excepting the necessity of settling an understanding with the earl of Argyle, and also of communicating with sir John Cochrane and some other leading whigs in Scotland, when Sydney recommended Aaron Smith as a person whom they might safely trust, and afterwards provided him with money for his journey. Of this last circumstance, however, the witness only spoke from hearsay. The crown lawyers being obliged to rest their case on the unsupported assertions of lord Howard, who had testified nothing of a treasonable nature, ventured to supply the defect of a second witness, by producing some papers found in Sydney's study, and supposed to be in his handwriting, in which the paramount authority of the people, and the lawfulness of resisting an oppressive government, were ably and eloquently maintained. A few passages best suited to their purpose being read at the request of the attorney-general, Sydney complained of this partial proceeding; when the chief justice, intending to entrap him, slily asked to what heads he would refer. Perceiving the drift, however, he calmly answered, 'let him give an account of it that did it.' He afterwards requested, that as parts of the writing had been quoted the whole might be read, but this was refused. The earl of Anglesey, lord

Clare, lord Paget, bishop Burnet, and two gentlemen of the Howard family, were called on the part of the prisoner to impeach the credibility of lord Howard, who all deposed either to his solemn asseverations of the prisoner's innocence, or to his repeated disavowal of all knowledge or belief of the supposed plot. Blake, a draper, testified to his lordship's saying, 'that he must not have his pardon till the drudgery of swearing was over.' Ducasse and two female servants gave evidence to his denying all communication with their master on this subject, and applying to them for the custody of his plate and goods. Lord Howard admitted a debt to Sydney with which he had been charged; and some other witnesses did not appear. Sydney, though unassisted by counsel, defended himself with great calmness and ability, in which he was aided by notes handed him by several gentlemen of the bar, who, though not allowed to speak in his behalf, had the spirit and courage to stand by him.

He commented with great ingenuity on the evidence, exposed the incredibility and inadequacy of lord Howard's testimony, and the absurdity and illegality of introducing papers containing theoretical remarks on politics, written for aught appeared twenty years before, as evidence of a conspiracy against the life of the king. The court, aware of his hasty temper, endeavored by frequent interruptions, to provoke and embarrass him. Sydney, however, bore it all with an admirable coolness, never suffering himself to be driven from his point. Finch, the solicitor-general, closed the prosecution, when Sydney attempted to add a few words, but was interrupted by Jefferies, who, in his charge to the jury, sanctioned all the principles of law advanced by the king's counsel, and artfully endeavored to blend the consultations in which Sydney had been implicated, with the other supposed conspiracies for an insurrection, and attempt upon the life of the king. The charge of Withens, one of the judges, is so extraordinary, that we shall give it at large from the state trials. 'Gentlemen, it is fit you should have our opinion; in all points of law we agree with the lord chief justice. Says colonel Sydney, Here's a mighty conspiracy, but nothing comes of it. Who must we thank for that? None but the Almighty Providence. One of themselves was troubled in conscience and comes and discovers it. If Keiling had not discovered it, God knows whether we might have been alive at this day.' Jefferies fol-

lowed the jury out of court, under pretence of taking some refreshment, and when they were consulting about their verdict, gave them more particular instructions. In about half an hour they returned with a verdict of *guilty*. Sydney desired, before the verdict was recorded, to examine them by turns, whether every one of them had found him guilty, and more especially, whether they had found him guilty of compassing the king's death, of levying war against the king, or of any treason within the statute 25 Edward III, or of any proved against him by two witnesses, but the chief justice would not allow him to proceed.

Three days after the trial, (24 Nov.) the duke of Monmouth surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and received a full pardon for his share in the supposed plot. This circumstance revived the hopes of Sydney's friends, and he was persuaded to deliver through Lord Halifax a petition to the king, stating the irregularity of the proceedings against him, and praying an audience with his majesty. This, through the influence of the duke of York, was denied, and Jefferies declared in his furious way, 'that either Sydney or himself must die.' On the 26th, when he was brought up for sentence and asked what he had to say in bar of judgment, Sydney again urged the extreme injustice with which he had been treated. While insisting on the rejection of his special plea, judge Withens who seemed to be drunk, gave him the lie; on which he calmly observed, 'that having lived above three score years, he had never received or deserved such language, having never asserted any thing that was false.' Finding all that he stated in arrest of judgment thus violently overborne by his judges, he said aloud, 'I must appeal to God and the world, I am not heard.' The chief justice, after declaiming on the prisoner's guilt, his obligations to the king, and the treasonable nature of his writings, proceeded to pronounce sentence of death in the usual form. 'Then, O God, O God,' said Sydney, with an unaltared mien, 'I beseech thee sanctify these sufferings unto me, and impute not my blood to the country nor the city through which I am to be drawn. Let no inquisition be made for it, but if any, and the shedding of blood that is innocent must be avenged, let the weight of it fall upon those that maliciously persecute me for righteousness' sake.' *Lord chief justice*—'I pray God work in you a temper fit for the other world, for I see you are not fit for this.'

Colonel Sydney, (stretching forth his hand,) 'my lord, feel my pulse, and see if I am disordered. I bless God I never was in better temper than I am now.' The friends of Sydney still made great efforts to save him, and persuaded him, although he entertained no hopes of success, to present a second petition to the king, that his punishment might be changed into perpetual banishment. This had no greater success than the first, and Sydney, resigning himself to his lot, employed the interval allowed him after sentence, in exercises of religion, and in drawing up an appeal to posterity on the injustice of his fate. When he saw the warrant for his execution, he expressed no concern, and amazed all around, by his calm demeanor.

On the morning of the 7th of December the sheriffs again proceeded to the tower, and about ten o'clock receiving Sydney from the hands of the lieutenant, conducted him on foot to the place of execution on Tower Hill. He was attended only by two of his brother's servants. He ascended the scaffold with a firm, undaunted mein, worthy, says bishop Burnet, of the man who set up Marcus Brutus as his model. He gave a paper, containing a manly vindication of his innocence, to the sheriffs, observing, that 'he had made his peace with God, and had nothing more to say to men;' but he declined either reading it or having it read to the multitude, and offered to tear it if it was not received. He then pulled off his coat, hat, and doublet, saying, 'that he was ready to die, and would give them no farther trouble.' He gave three guineas to the executioner, and perceiving the fellow grumble as if the sum were inadequate, desired a servant to give him a guinea or two more. He then kneeled down, and after a solemn pause of a few minutes, calmly laid his head upon the block. Being asked by the executioner if he should rise again, he replied, 'not till the general resurrection—strike on.' The executioner obeyed, and severed his head from his body at a blow. His remains, being placed in a coffin, were immediately restored to his friends; and on the following day interred with his ancestors at Penshurst. Powerful as the interest of the court was at this time, it could not stifle the voice of the nation, which cried out against the violence and infamy of these proceedings. The time was not far distant when the memory of Sydney was to receive from his countrymen the only reparation in their power to make for his cruel fate. By a bill brought into parliament April 24, 1689, which passed both

houses, his conviction and attainder are declared wrongful and unjust, and all records and proceedings regarding them are ordered to be cancelled, that they might not be visible to future times. The memory of such iniquity was not to be so easily effaced, and the characters of Russell and Sydney, and their prosecutors, have been handed down together to posterity, who have awarded the retribution they respectively merit. It was the fate of Sydney, as it has been of many great men, to be superior to the age in which he lived. He was equally above the cant and bigotry of one party in the state, and the profligacy and corruption of the other. He was enlightened in an age of prejudice, disinterested in an age of venality. He is one of the few men, who have followed steadily in practice the principles they supported in their writings. His discourses on government, which appeared soon after his death, were generally read and admired, but as mankind has advanced in the science of government and civil liberty, this treatise has been gradually neglected. What was considered by Sydney's contemporaries as a fanciful theory, has long been matter of experience. From this circumstance, some persons in later times have been led to treat his political writings with a degree of contempt they by no means deserve, not reflecting that he had to contend against doctrines, which, at the present day, can hardly be mentioned with gravity. Sydney has the merit of having been one of the first to discover and defend the maxim, that the true and only basis of a free government is *the will of the people.* These principles have since been recognised in England, and are adopted and acted upon in their fullest extent, in our own admirable constitutions. Mr Meadley deserves the highest praise for his manly and able vindication of the character and opinions of Sydney, at a time when such sentiments are by no means the surest passport to favor in his own country. Such examples cannot be too often held up or too strongly recommended. To us, as republicans, they are invaluable. The integrity, the virtue, the constancy of Sydney should animate us to hope and to struggle, even in the darkest times; while the arbitrary and detestable measures resorted to for his destruction, teach a lesson which should never be forgotten by the citizens of a free state; that the only support of an equal government is the virtue of the governed, for when that fails, the very institutions that are established for the protection of life and property, may be converted into the most dreadful engines of oppression and injustice.

ART. VII.—*Godfrey of Bulloigne ; or the recovery of Jerusalem. By Edward Fairfax.* Windsor, 1817.

THIS work was first published, as we are informed in a life of the author prefixed to the edition before us, A. D. 1600, and was so popular at that moment, that it was immediately incorporated with the works of the most celebrated British poets, in a compilation, called England's Parnassus. It must soon have ceased however to be generally admired, for it passed through only three more editions from that time to the year 1817, and in all these is said to have been materially disfigured, by unwarrantable alterations; a liberty, which had it been taken with a work of high and extensive popularity, could not have so long remained unnoticed. Indeed, the biographer to whom we have already referred, and who exhibits no little degree of the enthusiastic attachment generally felt by editors for their authors, has been able to collect no testimony of any weight in favor of Fairfax, except a few remarks from Dryden, a single sentence from Hume, and a stanza from Collins. Dryden merely calls Fairfax the poetical father of Waller, a compliment of far less value at present, than at the time when it was paid; and Hume contents himself with a short and guarded encomium on his elegance and exactness. For the opinion of the 'learnedly beautiful Collins,' as the editor styles him, we refer our readers to the ode on highland superstitions. We are informed indeed, that king James preferred Fairfax to any other poet, and that king Charles II amused himself, while in prison, by reading his Tasso; but it is not very probable that these stories, if correct, would be unsupported by any other respectable authority, than that of Brian Fairfax, one of the poet's descendants, who might naturally and excusably believe them on the slightest evidence. There is every reason, in short, to conclude, that however highly the work before us may have been appreciated by a few distinguished scholars, it was as little known to most readers of English poetry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Jonson's Horace or Sandy's Ovid.

This long neglect may have been altogether the effect of accident, but can be partly explained by another obvious reason. With a few exceptions, those poetical translators who flourished in the infancy of English literature, were distinguished by a servile adherence to the letter of their originals.

which could render their productions acceptable, only to a few minute and pedantic critics. It was their first, if not their exclusive aim to be faithful, and this object they thought was best secured by being literal. They seem to have been wholly ignorant of those maxims which have been so often and so well explained by their abler successors, that in translation, as in law, extreme right is often extreme wrong, that nothing is more unfaithful than a punctilious fidelity, that a good interpreter can sometimes best preserve the spirit of the original by sacrificing the letter. They construed, rather than translated. Their versions of the finest authors of antiquity were mean and spiritless explanations, and resembled a modern copy of the Apollo Belvedere, where the size and figure of all parts of the original are preserved with mathematical exactness, but that which far excels any thing else, that which cannot be measured by rule, nor defined by lines, that wherein lies the unparalleled value of this 'cunningest pattern of excelling art,' that which genius can never hope to equal, and may glory in imitating, the breathing expression, which is the very life of the marble, is utterly lost. It is no wonder that such productions should be despised and neglected, or preserved for no nobler and more useful purpose, than, as Johnson observes of Trapp, to be the clandestine refuge of school boys. Poetry was then far less generally read and criticised than now, and that Fairfax should share in the general fate of that class of writers, to which he had the misfortune to belong, however unjust, was evidently not very unnatural.

About the year 1763 a second version of the Jerusalem Delivered was published, as is well known, by Hoole, who thought proper to insert in his preface a formal attack on the merits of his predecessor. He tells us, if we understand his meaning,—for his expressions are obscure and ungrammatical,—that 'Fairfax's stanza, which is that of Tasso himself, is not only unpleasant, but irksome, that it is altogether unharmonious to an English ear, and that his version was written at a period [that is to say, in the age of Spenser and Shakspeare] when our verse, if not our language, was in its rudiments.' We shall presently see how far Hoole is warranted in these modest and elegant remarks, and may find better reasons than he has avowed, for his manifest solicitude to divert the public attention from a work, which, according to his own representations,

neither has been nor can be read. Yet whatever we may think of his pretensions to superiority in any respect over Fairfax, we do not mean to assert that his production is utterly contemptible. He is evidently, to the best of his abilities, a faithful interpreter, and exhibits no instance of wanton deviation. His verses are polished with the nicest care, and in unexceptionable, or, to speak in the dialect of Mr Bowles, unpardonable harmony of numbers, he is scarcely outdone by Pope. But of the power of uniting smoothness with conciseness, of preserving at once the sound and the sense, for which that illustrious poet was so distinguished, he seems to have had no conception. This defect alone must render his version an erroneous representation of the Jerusalem Delivered. The distinguishing characteristic of Tasso's style, as a foreign student soon finds to his cost, is majestic brevity. We do not mean that he is what is generally called a concise writer. His is a closeness of phraseology, and not of thought; there is an ample expansion of ideas, but no redundancy of expressions. Of this elegant succinctness not the slightest trace is visible in the translation. Hoole appears to have viewed words in the light of musical notes, as mere symbols of sounds, and not of sentiments, and to have supposed that he had little more to do than to arrange them into harmonious couplets. We accordingly find his lines crowded with superfluous and common place epithets, and rounded off with unmeaning phrases. The following passage from the fourth book will illustrate and confirm these remarks. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that its striking tautology is imputable in no degree to Tasso:

> 'Now was the night in starry lustre seen,
> And not a cloud obscured the blue serene,
> Her silver beams the rising moon displayed,
> And decked with pearly dew the dusky glade,
> With anxious soul the enamoured virgin strays
> From thought to thought in Love's perplexing maze,
> And vents her tender plaints and breathes her sighs
> To all the silent fields and conscious skies.

We subjoin Fairfax's version of the same stanza:

> Invested in her starry veil the night
> In her kind arms embraced all this round,
> The silver moon from sea up rising bright,
> Spread frosty pearl upon the candied ground,

> And Cynthia like for beauties' glorious light,
> The love-sick nymph threw glist'ring beams around,
> And counsellors of her old love she made,
> Those vallies dumb, that silence and that shade.'

It cannot be denied, however, that the smoothness of numbers, of which we have already spoken, enables us to glide over many of Hoole's pleonasms with little annoyance; and this work, notwithstanding its numerous and manifest defects, was so popular, that in fifty years it has passed through more than twice as many editions as have ever been printed of Fairfax. The celebrity of the translation was indeed not a little promoted by that of the original itself. The Jerusalem Delivered is considered by many critics as the best poem in the most musical of languages; and Voltaire and Dryden have pronounced it the first epic of modern times. In one merit, and that certainly none of the meanest, Tasso has outdone every other heroic poet, that of sustaining throughout the interest of the story. He has combined an unbroken unity of design with an abundant variety of incident. We find in the Jerusalem no long prelude to the main narrative, as in the Odyssey; no fatiguing chronicles of successive combats with little intermission or variety, as in the Iliad; no falling off toward the conclusion, as in the Æneid, and in Paradise Lost. In a word, it is perhaps the only heroic poem which can be repeatedly read through in course without weariness. Much of this excellence must be retained in the most ordinary version, and that of Hoole was strangely believed on his own assertion to be the only one, which a modern reader could tolerate. His envious misrepresentations of his predecessor's merits, which for half a century were but too successful, are fortunately now detected and exposed. Fairfax has at last emerged from oblivion—

> 'Escaped the Stygian pool, though long detained
> In that obscure sojourn'—

and has risen by the undivided suffrages of the best English critics to a far higher rank, as a poet, than he had ever enjoyed in the days of his former glory. His fame as an author is indeed almost the only vestige of his existence. Of his private life we have no ampler history than that which we have previously mentioned, which, to say nothing of its extreme scantiness, rests only on incomplete and contradictory evidence.

We are told, that he was the son of sir Thomas Fairfax, who lived in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and that the legitimacy of his birth is an undecided, and, at the present day an inscrutable question. It is added that he passed his time in that undisturbed literary seclusion, of which all poets have dreamed, and many sung, but which scarcely one has enjoyed, and that his life was in a word serene, happy, and useful. Its usefulness it would not be fair to question, but we may safely presume that its serenity and happiness were disturbed on more than one occasion, for we find that our poet was deeply involved in religious controversy, and that he wrote a treatise on demonology, which he entitled a 'Discourse on Witchcraft, as it was acted in the family of Mr Edward Fairfax.' The time of his death is uncertain, but is supposed to have been in 1632.

He published nothing but his Godfrey of Bulloigne, but left behind him several manuscripts, none of which appear to have been ever printed, except a few religious eclogues. Of these, one is prefixed to his Jerusalem in the volume before us, and called by the editor a masterly allegory of the corruption of sin and the redemption of christianity; but though it contains several beautiful passages, it is on the whole nothing better than a heap of splendid absurdities. With his contemporaries his fame rested, as it must with all posterity, principally on his Jerusalem. On the general merits of this work, as a mere English poem, we shall make no comments, as on this head we shall presently allow it to speak largely for itself. It is rather our purpose to consider it as a mere translation, and we now proceed to answer the first inquiry, which such a view of it must naturally suggest in the reader's mind,—does it present (under all reasonable allowances) an accurate representation of the original? This question we have carefully examined by minute comparisons between various passages in the two authors, and believe that those of our readers, who are willing to submit to the same drudgery, must give an unqualified answer in the affirmative. That Fairfax has absolutely omitted or added nothing, that every thing of the original is retained but the mere phraseology, or that not a shade of sentiment is his own, are assertions which we do not intend to make, and which, if true, would be unimportant. 'Whoever,' says De Lille, 'undertakes a translation, contracts a debt which he must discharge, not with the same money, but with the same sum,' and few critics of the present day will seriously deny,

that if the original be neither impaired nor disfigured, slight deviations are always excusable, and often wise. Of our author's aberrations there is little reason to complain. Where he has altered the original, it is almost always by adding to it, and his additions are generally manifest improvements. We recollect only a single instance, in which Tasso has suffered materially at his hands. The following absurd couplet in the description of the infernal council (B. 4.) is a mere interpolation.

> 'And some their forked tails stretch forth on high
> And tear the twinkling stars from trembling sky.'

It is a curious fact, that notwithstanding the acknowledged spirit and ease of Fairfax's poetry, the translation is not only written in the measure of the original, but contains precisely the same number of stanzas. We now proceed to our extracts, and trust that few readers will object to their length, since scarcely any copies of the work have reached this country.

> 'This said, the Angel swift himself prepared
> To execute the charge impos'd, aright:
> In form of airy members fair embar'd,
> His spirits pure were subject to our sight;
> Like to a man in shew and shape he far'd,
> But full of heavenly majesty and might,
> A stripling seem'd he thrice five winters old,
> And radiant beams adorn'd his locks of gold.
>
> 'Of silver wings he took a shining pair,
> Fringed with gold, unwearied, nimble, swift,
> With these he parts the winds, the clouds, the air,
> And over seas and earth himself doth lift;
> Thus clad he cut the spheres and circles fair,
> And the pure skies with sacred feathers clift,
> On Libanon at first his foot he set,
> And shook his wings with rosy May dews wet.'

Funeral oration of Godfrey over Dudon.

> 'We need not mourn for thee, here laid to rest,
> Earth is thy bed, and not thy grave; the skies
> Are for thy soul the cradle and the nest,
> There live, for here thy glory never dies:
> For like a Christian knight and champion blest,
> Thou didst both live and die; now feed thine eyes

With thy Redeemer's sight, where crown'd with bliss
Thy faith, zeal, merit, well deserving is.

'Our loss, not thine, provokes these plaints and tears,
For when we lost thee, then our ship her mast,
Our chariot lost her wheels, their points our spears,
The bird of conquest her chief feather cast:
But though thy death far from our army bears
Her chiefest earthly aid, in heaven yet plac'd
Thou wilt procure us help divine; so reaps
He, that sows godly sorrow, joy by heaps.

'For if our God the Lord Armipotent
Those armed Angels in our aid down send,
That were at Dothan to his prophet sent,
Thou wilt come down with them, and well defend
Our host, and with thy sacred weapons bent
'Gainst Sion's fort, these gates and bulwarks rend,
That so thy hand may win this hold, and we
May in these temples praise our Christ for thee.'

Pluto's speech to the infernal powers.

'Ye powers infernal, worthier far to sit
Above the sun, whence you your offspring take,
With me that whilome through the welkin flit,
Down tumbled headlong to this empty lake,
Our former glory still remember it,
Our bold attempts, and war we once did make
'Gainst Him that rules above the starry sphere,
For which like traitors we lie damned here.

'And now, instead of clear and gladsome sky,
Of Titan's brightness that so glorious is,
In this deep darkness, lo! we helpless lie,
Hopeless again to joy our former bliss;
And more which makes my griefs to multiply,
That sinful creature man, elected is,
And in our place the heavens possess he must,
Vile man! begot of clay, and born of dust.

'Nor this sufficed, but that he also gave
His only son, his darling, to be slain,
To conquer so hell, death, sin and the grave,
And man condemned to restore again:
He brake our prisons and would algates save
The souls that here should dwell in woe and pain,

And now in heav'n with him they live always,
With endless glory crown'd and lasting praise.

'But why recount I thus our passed harms?
Remembrance fresh makes weak'ned sorrow strong,
Expulsed were we with injurious arms,
From those due honours us of right belong.
But let us leave to speak of these alarms,
And bend our forces 'gainst our present wrong;
Ah! see you not how He attempted hath
To bring all lands, all nations to his faith!

'Then let us careless spend the day and night,
Without regard what haps, what comes or goes;
Let Asia subject be to Christian's might,
A prey be Sion to her conquering foes;
Let her adore again her Christ aright,
Who her before all nations whilome chose,
In brazen tables be his love ywrit,
And let all tongues and lands acknowledge it.

'So shall our sacred altars all be his,
Our holy idols tumbled in the mould,
To him the wretched man, that sinful is,
Shall pray, and offer incence, myrrh, and gold;
Our temples shall their costly deckings miss,
With naked walls and pillars freezing cold,
Tribute of souls shall end, and our estate,
Or Pluto reign in kingdoms desolate.

'Oh! be not then the courage perish'd clean
That whilome dwelt within your haughty thought,
When, arm'd with shining fire and weapons keen,
Against the angels of proud heav'n we fought:
I grant we fell on the Phlegrean green,
Yet good our cause was, though our fortune nought;
For chance assisteth oft th' ignobler part,
We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

'Go then, my strength, my hope, my spirits go,
These western rebels with your power withstand,
Pluck up these weeds, before they overgrow
The gentle garden of the Hebrew's land;
Quench out this spark before it kindle so
That Asia burn, consumed with the brand.
Use open force, or secret guile unspied;
For craft is virtue 'gainst a foe defied.

'Among the knights and worthies of their train,
Let some like out-laws wander uncouth ways,
Let some be slain in field, let some again
Make oracles of women's yeas and nays,
And pine in foolish love; let some complain
Of Godfrey's rule and mutinies 'gainst him raise;
Turn each one's sword against his fellow's heart;
Thus kill them all, or spoil the greatest part.'

The following is the episode of Erminia and the shepherd which our readers will remember is highly extolled by Dr Blair.

Her tears her drink, her food, her sorrowings,
This was her diet that unhappy night:
But sleep, that sweet repose and quiet brings
To ease the griefs of discontented wight,
Spread forth his tender, soft and nimble wings,
In his dull arms folding the virgin bright;
And love, his mother, and the graces kept
Strong watch and ward, while this fair lady slept.

The birds awak'd her with their morning song,
Their warbling music pierc'd her tender ear;
The murmuring brooks and whistling winds among
The rattling boughs and leaves their parts did bear;
Her eyes unclos'd beheld the groves along,
Of swains and shepherd grooms that dwellings were;
And that sweet noise, birds, winds, and waters sent,
Provok'd again the virgin to lament.

'Her plaints were interrupted with a sound
That seem'd from thickest bushes to proceed,
Some jolly shepherd sung a lusty round,
And to his voice had tun'd his oaten reed;
Thither she went; an old man there she found,
At whose right hand his little flock did feed,
Sat making baskets his three sons among,
That learn'd their father's art, and learned his song.

'Beholding one in shining arms appear,
The seely man and his were sore dismay'd,
But sweet Erminia comforted their fear,
Her ventail up, her visage open laid,—
You happy folk, of heav'n beloved dear,
Work on, quoth she, upon your harmless trade;
These dreadful arms I bear no warfare bring
To your sweet toil, nor those sweet tunes you sing.

'But, father, since this land, these towns and towers,
Destroyed are with sword, with fire, and spoil;
How may it be, unhurt that you and your's
In safety thus apply your harmless toil?
My son, quoth he, this poor estate of our's
Is ever safe from storm of warlike broil;
This wilderness doth us in safety keep,
No thund'ring drum, no trumpet breaks our sleep:

'Haply just heaven's defence and shield of right
Doth love the innocence of simple swains;
The thunderbolts on highest mountains light,
And seld or never strike the lower plains;
So kings have cause to fear Bellona's might,
Not they whose sweat and toil their dinner gains,
Nor ever greedy soldier was enticed
By poverty, neglected and despised:

'O, poverty! chief of the heavenly brood,
Dearer to me than wealth or kingly crown,
No wish for honor, thirst of other's good,
Can move my heart, contented with mine own;
We quench our thirst with water of this flood,
Nor fear we poison should therein be thrown;
These little flocks of sheep and tender goats
Give milk for food, and wool to make us coats:

'We little wish, we need but little wealth
From cold and hunger us to clothe and feed;
These are my sons, their care preserves from stealth
Their father's flocks, nor servants more I need:
Amid these groves I walk oft for my health,
And to the fishes, birds, and beasts give heed,
How they are fed in forest, spring, and lake,
And their contentment for example take:

'Time was (for each one hath his doting time,
These silver locks were golden tresses then)
That country life I hated as a crime,
And from the forest's sweet contentment ran;
To Memphis' stately palace would I climb,
And there became the mighty caliph's man,
And though I but a simple gardener were,
Yet could I mark abuses, see and hear:

'Enticed on with hope of future gain,
I suffer'd long what did my soul displease;

But when my youth was spent, my hope was vain;
I felt my native strength at last decrease;
I 'gan my loss of lusty years complain,
And wish'd I had enjoy'd the country's peace;
I bade the court farewell, and with content
My later age here have I quiet spent.

'While thus he spake, Erminia, hush'd and still,
His wise discourses heard with great attention;
His speeches grave those idle fancies kill,
Which in her troubled soul bred such dissension
After much thought reformed was her will,
Within those woods to dwell was her intention,
Till fortune should occasion new afford,
To turn her home to her desired lord.

'She said therefore—O shepherd fortunate!
That troubles some did'st whilom feel and prove,
Yet livest now in this contented state,
Let my mishap thy thoughts to pity move,
To entertain me as a willing mate
In shepherd's life, which I admire and love;
Within these pleasant groves perchance my heart
Of her discomforts may unload some part:

'If gold or wealth, of most esteemed dear,
If jewels rich thou diddest hold in prize,
Such store thereof, such plenty have I here,
As to a greedy mind might well suffice.—
With that down trickled many a silver tear,
Two crystal streams fell from her watery eyes;
Part of her sad misfortunes then she told,
And wept, and with her wept that shepherd old.

'With speeches kind he 'gan the virgin dear
Towards his cottage gently home to guide;
His aged wife there made her homely cheer,
Yet welcom'd her, and plac'd her by her side.
The princess donned a poor pastora's gear,
A 'kerchief coarse upon her head she tied;
But yet her gestures and her looks I guess,
Were such as ill beseem'd a shepherdess:

'Not those rude garments could obscure and hide
The heav'nly beauty of her angel's face,
Nor was her princely offspring damnified
Or aught disparag'd by those labors base'

Her little flocks to pasture would she guide,
And milk her goats, and in their folds them place;
Both cheese and butter could she make, and frame
Herself to please the shepherd and his dame.

'But oft, when underneath the greenwood shade
Her flocks lay hid from Phebus' scorching rays,
Unto her knight she songs and sonnets made,
And them engrav'd in bark of beech and bays:
She told how Cupid did her first invade,
How conquered her, and ends with Tancred's praise;
And when her passion's writ she over read,
Again she mourned, again salt tears she shed.—

'You happy trees for ever keep (quoth she)
This woeful story in your tender rind,
Another day under your shade, may be,
Will come to rest again some lover kind,
Who if these trophies of my grief he see,
Shall feel dear pity pierce his gentle mind.
With that she sighed and said, too late I prove
There is no trust in fortune, trust in love.

'Yet may it be (if gracious heavens attend
The earnest suit of a distressed wight)
At my entreat they will vouchsafe to send
To these huge deserts that unthankful knight;
That when to earth the man his eyes shall bend,
And see my grave, my tomb, and ashes light,
My woeful death his stubborn heart may move,
With tears and sorrows to reward my love:

'So though my life hath most unhappy been,
At least yet shall my spirit dead be blest;
My ashes cold shall, buried on the green,
Enjoy that good this body ne'er possest.—
Thus she complained to the senseless treen,
Floods in her eyes, and fires were in her breast;
But he for whom these streams of tears she shed,
Wander'd far off, alas! as chance him led.'

We shall close our extracts with the following description of the incantations of Ismeno, in the beginning of Book 13. Splendid as Fairfax here is, he has done no more than justice to the original. We think that, for terrific sublimity, this passage is not excelled by any thing in Homer, Virgil, or Milton,

and that it is of itself enough to establish Tasso's right to walk within that magic circle, which Dryden has pronounced to be the exclusive domain of Shakspeare.

'No twist, no twig, no bough, nor branch therefore,
The Saracines cut from sacred spring,
But yet the Christians spared ne'er the more
The trees to earth, with cutting steel to bring;
Thither went Ismen old, with tresses hoar,
When night on all this earth spread forth her wing;
And there, in silence deaf and mirksome shade,
His characters and circles vain he made.

'He in the circle set one foot unshod,
And whispered dreadful charms in ghastly wise
Three times, for witchcraft loveth numbers odd,
Toward the east he gaped, westward thrice;
He struck the earth thrice with his charmed rod,
Wherewith dead bones he makes from graves to rise:
And thrice the ground with naked foot he smote,
And thus he cried aloud with thundering note:

'Hear! hear! ye spirits all, that whilome fell
Cast down from heaven with dint of roaring thunder,
Hear! ye amid the empty air that dwell
And storms and showers pour on these kingdoms under!
Hear! all ye devils that lie in deepest hell
And rend with torments damned ghosts asunder,
And of those lands of death, of pain and fear
Thou monarch great, great Dis, great Pluto, hear.

'Keep ye this forest well, keep every tree,
Numbered I give you them, and truly told
As souls of men in bodies clothed be,
So every plant a sprite shall hide and hold,
With trembling fear make all the Christians flee
When they presume to cut these cedars old—
This said, his charms he 'gan again repeat,
Which none can say but those who use like feat.

'At those strange speeches still night's splendent fires
Quenched their lights and shrunk away for doubt,
The feeble moon her silver beams retires,
And wraps her horns with folding clouds about.
Ismen his sprites to come with speed requires—
Why come ye not, ye ever damned rout?

Why tarry ye so long? pardie ye stay,
Till stronger charms and greater words I say.

'I have not yet forgot for want of use
What dreadful terms belong this sacred feat,
My tongue, if still your stubborn hearts refuse,
That so much dreaded name can well repeat,
Which heard, great Dis cannot himself excuse,
But hither run from his eternal seat;
Oh great and fearful—more he would have said,
But that he saw the sturdy sprits obeyed.'

Of Fairfax's elegance of diction, a quality so essential in a poetical translator, we have forborne to speak till now, lest we should be suspected of extravagance. The samples which we have given of this work, inadequate as they necessarily are, will shew, that we do not exaggerate in asserting, that his phraseology is scarcely surpassed in splendor by that of Milton. One quality of his style is so striking, that we cannot avoid pointing it out more particularly. He has fewer words and phrases which are now obsolete, we do not say than any of the English authors of that period, but than many of their imitators of the present day. For this class of readers, he possesses few recommendations. They will often be obliged to wade through whole pages of our plain vernacular tongue, without finding one of those quaint expressions, those gems, or rather those talismans of eloquence, by the frequent use of which they hope so confidently to outdo all, who are willing to write in the modern dialect of Pope and Addison, of Goldsmith and Franklin, of Alison and Campbell. For ourselves, it has afforded us no little pleasure to observe so exact a resemblance between the diction of Fairfax and that of most of his illustrious literary successors, at the distance of two centuries. This circumstance is a striking confirmation of the opinion, which we have always entertained, that our language has continued during that period materially the same, and that with a few exceptions, those forms of speech only have fallen into disuse, which either were of trifling value in themselves, or have been superseded by something better.

Such as our vocabulary is, there is little reason to complain of its scantiness, and little need of enlarging it, by coining new, or reviving antiquated expressions. There is as much affectation, though of an opposite nature, in the latter as in the

former of these practices, and we need fear nothing for our mother tongue, while a general regard is paid to the precept expressed in the following couplet.

> 'Be not the first by whom the new are tried,
> Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.'

ART. VIII.—*Oeuvres inedites de Madame la Baronne de Stael, publiées par son fils.* 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, Strasbourg et Londres. 1821. Alexander Everett

THE celebrated Rembrandt, one of the principal ornaments of the Flemish school of painting, did not enjoy, in his lifetime, all the reputation which has since been attached to his name. Fame and fortune are capricious; and Rembrandt, in the pride of genius, neglected the courtly arts, that are sometimes necessary to obtain the favor of these charming divinities. He found himself, accordingly, with all his merit, in very imminent danger of starving: and in order to enhance the value of his pictures, and anticipate some of the advantages of a high posthumous reputation, he retired from public view, and circulated a report of his own death. No sooner was this sad event made known, than the hundred tongues of fame were immediately vocal in loud commendation of the departed painter: and what was more to his purpose, his pictures rose instantaneously in value, and were bought up with a sort of fury. After reaping this golden harvest, and disposing of all the pictures he had on hand, the artist returned to life, and resumed his labors with new alacrity, and increased contempt for the good sense and taste of the public. This anecdote has been wrought up by a French writer into a little comedy; and in order to give it the additional interest of a seasoning of gallantry, the painter's wife is represented as a second Penelope, besieged, like the queen of Ithaca, in consequence of the supposed death of her husband, by innumerable suitors. She is described, however, as not possessing quite the constancy of that 'illustrious personage,' and as not being wholly disinclined to anticipate also, in her own way, some of the advantages, that might be expected to result from her husband's actual decease, so that the poor painter has more reasons than one for making haste to return to life.

This little anecdote, true or false, serves to illustrate pleasantly enough the value of fame, and the uncertainty there is, whether the judgments of contemporaries will be annulled or confirmed by posterity. No writer of our own times has enjoyed, upon the whole, so extensive a reputation as Madame de Stael obtained in the latter part of her literary career. The productions of some others have been read with more pleasure, in smaller circles, or rated higher by a few judges who were able to appreciate them; but taking into view the extent of the public to which she addressed herself, as well as her success in obtaining its favor, it would be difficult to find a name that can come in competition with hers, since the time of Voltaire and Rousseau. Or if this should be contested, it will readily be granted by all, that she was one of the most popular writers of her time. Notwithstanding this, she had critics and very severe ones; nor has her death wholly silenced them, as it did those of the Flemish artist. We have seen but a few days since, in a German work of great merit, a solemn anathema against bad writers of various kinds, in which, among other denunciations equally severe, all Sapphos, Aspasias, and Corinnas, are sent, without ceremony, to the madhouse. This judgment savors too strongly in its rudeness as well as its severity, of the soil, and we imagine will not be confirmed, even by such critics in other countries as are less partial to the daughter of Necker. In fact, if we are rightly informed, although Madame de Stael was received with great attention in the higher circles of German society, the scholars of that country, who wield the sceptre of criticism, have never looked upon her with an eye of favor. Her learning appeared to them scanty and superficial, and quite insufficient to justify her in giving her opinions so freely as she did on large and difficult questions. Accustomed themselves to push their inquiries with an expense of much time and unwearied labor into the minutest details of fact, they are unwilling to acknowledge that these toils are unnecessary for the purpose of arriving at just conclusions: and that it is possible to reason correctly upon general subjects, by means of observations made exclusively on large masses and leading points. By French critics, on the contrary, Madame de Stael has been reproached with affecting too much the German taste, with indulging in vague and obscure modes of expression, with deviating from the pure and lucid perspicuity that distinguishes the best

French writers, and adopting the manner they call *romantic*, without precisely knowing themselves what they mean by this term. These objections refer to the style of her works, but the substance of them has also been freely handled. The moral in some has been regarded as loose, and in all as bordering on extravagance and mysticism. Her political philosophy has dissatisfied the zealots of every party. The republicans dislike her passion for 'historical names,' and the royalists her zeal for liberal institutions. Some quarrel with her hatred for Bonaparte and others with her passion for the British government. Meanwhile, these objections, in most of which there is a greater or less *degree of foundation*, did not prevent her reputation from extending itself regularly and rapidly up to the time of her death. Her name and merit were comparatively little known till the publication of Corinna. This work diffused her fame far and wide; and her subsequent more serious productions established it on solid foundations. Instead of outliving her reputation like some authors, and degenerating from the excellence of her earlier efforts, each book that she published was regularly more valuable than the one preceding, and her great posthumous work on the French revolution far excelled any she had previously written, and gave the last finish to her literary character.

It may be supposed by some, that the elevated social position of Madame de Stael, her rank, wealth, and titles, contributed something to her literary success; but this idea is not very plausible. Other ministers have had daughters besides M. Necker, and there have been baronesses of higher standing in the rolls of heraldry, and perhaps of larger fortunes, though hers was very great, whose names are never seen in a critical review. In fact, whatever could be done for Madame de Stael by the advantages of her birth and fortune, was effected at a very early period of her life, and we have seen that her reputation was principally the fruit of her later labors, performed at a time when she was persecuted, in exile, and comparatively poor. The remark of Pope, upon the great influence of high social standing in sanctifying dullness, like many others of his satirical sallies, has very little foundation. The rarity of great merit, whether in the loftiest or the lowest ranks of society, makes us perceive it, when it really exists there, with increased satisfaction: but if the public is disposed to be indulgent in either case, it seems to be rather to the

efforts of indigent, than of wealthy or dignified mediocrity. The Bloomfields obtained a sort of distinction by poems, which, had they been written by men of education, would have sunk without notice into forgetfulness. Hogg, and even Burns have been a good deal overrated, on account of the interest excited by their humble origin and small advantages; while on the other hand the dunces have been uniformly more severely handled by critics and the public, in proportion to their rank and fortune. Lord Thurlow found no protection for affectation and nonsense in his own title, or the merit of his father; and the earl of Carlisle's coronet did not secure him from the most unmerciful castigation by his own nephew, lord Byron,—more severe, perhaps, than mere unoffending dulness really deserved. Byron himself received for his hours of idleness a critical lashing, which did not seem to be inflicted with the less relish because it fell on patrician shoulders. In short, we apprehend that notwithstanding the efforts lately made in Europe to give the greatest possible prevalence to the doctrine of *legitimacy*, it has not yet obtained sway in literature, and if all the other governments in the world should assume a monarchical form, except the United States, we shall still have the *republic of letters* to keep us in countenance.

The principal merit of Madame de Stael's compositions is the poetical coloring of the language. Without having, perhaps, the best possible taste in style, she succeeds to a considerable extent in what she attempts. She is not satisfied with a merely natural and perspicuous expression of thought, which is, after all, the perfection of art, but aims assiduously and constantly at effect and brilliancy. She deals willingly in large and majestic forms of expression; and this manner, however imposing when perfectly successful, borders too nearly on stiffness and affectation to be employed without considerable hazard. But Madame de Stael has avoided on the whole, with great skill and success, the principal faults into which her peculiar taste was likely to lead her; and her language, though rich and elevated, is in general very flowing and easy. She has also throughout great spirit and vivacity. Her imagination enlivens every thing it touches; and in the several departments of literature which she has attempted, such as historical and fictitious narrative, description of art and nature, the analysis of sentiment, and abstract speculation on

various branches of philosophy, she possesses the art of giving her compositions a high degree of interest. This is the true secret of literary success. An attractive style is not so much the clothing of thought, as the conductor of it. Without the intervention of this medium the communication is not formed between the minds of the writer and the public. His merit, whatever it is, cannot be felt or appreciated, because it is not known. *We live by style*, was an apophthegm of Voltaire, who had thoroughly studied his profession. To know how to write is indeed of necessity the first qualification of a good writer; and a mind, however rich in thought and feeling, can no more impart its treasures to the world, in the form of written composition, without possessing naturally, or acquiring by the necessary labor and study the arts of language, than it can pour them out upon canvass without initiating itself into the mysteries of painting. This remark may appear trite, but if it were as familiar in practice as it is in theory, the world would be spared at least ninety-nine out of a hundred of the books that are published.

But Madame de Stael, though possessed of a poetical mind, was not a poet. She had neither the perfection of style nor the force of imagination, both of which are required for this art. This is proved by the failure of all her attempts at poetry. Her essays in verse were wholly unsuccessful, and she was herself so conscious of it, that she did not publish them during her life. They now appear in the collection of her posthumous works; but whether the editor has shown his judgment in the publication of them is perhaps a question. They certainly add nothing to the reputation of Madame de Stael as a writer; but as her acquired fame does not rest in any degree upon these pieces, their inferiority can, of course, do her no injury; and it is agreeable, as a mere matter of curiosity, to see the attempts in verse of a person who has obtained so much celebrity in other walks of literature. These essays consist principally of two tragedies, which were among the very first of her compositions, and which are wholly destitute of any kind of merit. They have all the coldness and stiffness of the French school, without any of its high finish and elegance. There is no example in fact of a good poem of this importance, written at the age of seventeen or eighteen, when these were produced; and it is not impossible that the talent of Madame de Stael might have been brought by the necessary labor

and discipline to the degree of perfection required for writing good poetry. But whether for want of this course of training, or from original inaptitude, her subsequent attempts are not much superior to the first; and the few of them that appear in this collection are wholly spiritless. The best things in this way are two or three little comedies, of the slightest possible pretension, written for representation at her own house at Copet, in the manner which the French call *dramatic proverbs*. These pieces are gay and pleasant; and show how far talent can go in trifling things, even without the regular discipline. They are written in prose.

Madame de Stael was not only incapable of writing in verse, but she wanted the vigor of imagination which constitutes the essential requisite of poetry; and her works in prose, as far as they assume the character of poetical inventions, may also be regarded as complete failures. Her smaller novels met with no success at all; and would now be unknown, as indeed they are very nearly, without the subsequent reputation of the writer. The same is true of Delphine, which is defective in every respect as a work of art, and having no other accidental merit to sustain it, is almost wholly worthless. The morality of it is far from being unexceptionable, notwithstanding the arguments alleged by the author in its defence in a separate essay. But, as was observed by the best critics at the time of its publication, a work that is not read with pleasure can never be dangerous. Corinna has higher claims; but if examined, its merit will not be found to lie in the poetical, but in the descriptive part; and as far as it is a work of invention, it is still a failure, though not to the same extent as Delphine. The character of the heroine is doubtless drawn with considerable spirit and produces effect, but this success does not seem to be the result of a general inventive talent. The personage is wholly out of nature; and under the pen of an actual observer and true painter, like Shakspeare or Scott, could only have been exhibited, in sorrow or in sport, as a half maniac, if exhibited at all. It is in substance a picture by Madame de Stael of herself, with the expression of every feature heightened to the very verge of carricature; not, as may well be supposed, for the purpose of producing a ludicrous effect, but in consequence of the intense interest with which an ardent mind naturally expresses its habitual feelings. This deep interest, and the perfect knowledge which every individual has of his

own sentiments, supply, for this particular object, the defect of inventive talent. This seems also to be the extent of lord Byron's power of poetical creation, although he possesses in perfection the talent of writing in verse, which Madame de Stael wanted, and which it might be wished that the noble author would put a little more upon the stretch, than he has done in most of his poems. The failure of his late attempt in tragedy adds a positive confirmation to these negative proofs, that his inventive power has a very limited range. But with regard to Corinna, whatever may be the value of the principal character, it is not commonly considered as the chief merit of the work. The book is, after all, a description of Italy in a poetical form, drawn up with far more talent than is commonly exhibited in this class of writings. Descriptions of foreign countries, although in general very indifferently written, are still, from the inherent interest of the subject, among the most popular works which appear. It is easy, therefore, to imagine that a production of this class, recommended by the charm of eloquence, and replete with profound and philosophical views, could not fail to attract great attention. We find, accordingly, that the subsequent work on Germany, which is another Italy without the attempt at poetical invention, is not only more valuable, but at least equally if not more popular. We also find among the posthumous works, a dramatic essay on the story of Sappho, which shows what Corinna would have been without Italy, as the Germany shows what Italy would have been without Corinna. A true poetical talent would have treated this subject much more at ease in the form of a tragedy, than with the incumbrance of a great country to describe in the midst of all the sentimental agonies of an unrequited passion. The failure of Sappho proves very clearly that the loves of Oswald and Corinna would have excited but little interest without the associations of ancient greatness and glory, and the descriptions of natural and artificial beauty with which they are accompanied. A German poet, Grillparzer, has lately produced a tragedy on the subject of Sappho, which resembles the work of Madame de Stael so nearly in plot, that there must necessarily have been a communication between the two authors. Whether Grillparzer had seen her Sappho in manuscript, or whether after the publication of his, she undertook to treat the same subject in her own way, we are not informed.

As Madame de Stael, though possessed of sufficient taste and imagination to write with correctness and elegance, and even with poetical coloring, had not the essential requisites of real poetry, it is evident her success must have depended at least as much upon the substance of her compositions, as upon their form. Even fine versification, to produce its effect, must be sustained by a brilliant inventive talent, or a power of deep and original thought. Poetry properly requires the former; but the latter sometimes serves as a substitute, as in Pope, Goldsmith, and for the most part, Byron. Mere prose, however beautiful, demands still more imperiously, the aid of some substantial merit. This merit, as in poetry, may consist either in thought or invention. The novels of Richardson, Fielding and Scott, which, are real poems in prose, derive their principal value from invention. As Madame Stael wanted this talent, we find, as might be supposed, that her substantial excellence is thought. Philosophy, and not poetry, was her proper department; and in making a general estimate of her literary character it is still more important to look at it under this point of view than the other.

In the various walks of speculation, her reach of mind was very extensive; and if she treats some subjects more superficially than others, it seems to be rather from a want of inclination to engage in them, than of ability to sound them to the bottom. In the account she gives of the German philosophy, the analysis of intellect is lightly touched, and the conclusions in which she acquiesces much too hastily drawn. Without examining the system of Kant, she was seduced into an approval of it by the slight and wholly superficial colouring of plausibility which may be given to his leading principle. To do her justice, however, it should be observed, that she does not profess to have studied his theories, and after giving a general view of his leading principle in one of her chapters, she says little more than that there is an appearance of plausibilty about it, which is true. Had she pushed her inquiries farther, she would have seen that this was only an appearance. But probably deriving her knowledge of the system from persons who approved it, she regards this plausibility as a presumption in favor of its truth. She was doubtless repelled by the obscurity in which the German metaphysicians have voluntarily shrouded their speculations, from entering into a thorough examination of them; and few, we fancy, will blame her for it,

very severely. Her favorite branches of philosophy were morals and politics, and upon these she reasons through all her writings with great freedom and ability.

In morals she embraced and supported, with singular zeal, the system which places the essence of virtue in the benevolent motive of the agent, and not in the useful tendency of the action. She treats with undisguised contempt the idea, that calculation can have any connexion with moral goodness; and regards feeling as the only elevated and really correct guide of conduct. Considered as a specimen of logical inquiry, there is a want of closeness and precision in her reasoning upon this, as upon most other points of philosophy. It is a part of the sublime and beautiful order of the universe, that good feelings tend to produce good consequences; and both these theories of virtue, abstractly considered, are therefore equally true. To deny that it is possible ever to do good by calculation, would be either to deny that good feelings tend to useful results, or to deny that we can perceive the connexion between them; neither of which points is at all tenable. There is, therefore, something of passion and even party in the ardor with which Madame de Stael supports the doctrine of sympathy, and attacks that of utility. But considering the state of moral philosophy in France at the time when she began to write, she is entitled to great credit for adopting these opinions. The French philosophers of the last century, in their analysis of the mind, almost wholly overlooked the existence of sympathetic feelings, or, as they are called by a writer in the Edinburgh Review, with happy technical precision, *felt relations*, and resolved all sentiments into self-love. On this system, the promotion of our own advantage is the only natural motive of action; and as it does not seem to have been intended that we should act upon large views of distant consequences, it would on this supposition be natural, and of course right, that we should sacrifice the happiness of others to our own. Thus, these philosophers neglected the most beautiful feature in the order of Providence, which has provided for the general good, by giving to each individual a natural desire to promote the happiness of others, as well as his own, and has neutralised by a contrary principle, at least as strong, the malignant operation of pure self-love. This selfish philosophy had become universal in France, and had been brought into view in combination with the grossest and

most revolting materialism, to which it does not necessarily lead, but with which it may be easily connected. No modern French writer had espoused the contrary doctrine, at least in a dogmatical form, previously to Madame de Stael. Hence, although there was no real novelty in the doctrine of sympathy, she had something of the merit of philosophical discovery, in reviving it with so much zeal and vigor in a country where it had fallen into discredit. Her manner of explaining the doctrine is somewhat vague and incorrect, as we have observed above. Instead of contenting herself with reinstating the principle of sympathy in its rights, as co-operating with that of utility to produce the moral harmony of the universe, she denies with a sort of passion, that there can be any community between utility and goodness. Nor is she perfectly exact in her view of the value of sympathetic feelings. She seems very much disposed to give the character of virtue exclusively to acts that involve a sacrifice of our own interest to that of others, which is one step beyond the doctrine of pure disinterestedness, as a man may act without any view to his own interest, when he does not absolutely sacrifice it. This idea can hardly be admitted, although the promotion of the happiness of others, at the expense of our own, may well be considered as the highest act of virtue, since it is the most difficult. But these terms are used with very little precision by most other writers, and it was not the particular object of Madame de Stael to reform or fix the nomenclature of moral science, but to recommend a particular view of it to the public. By supporting the general doctrine of sympathy as she understood it, with her ardent and enthusiastic eloquence, she has done far more good, than would have been effected by a cold logical analysis, had it even been more exact in the details.

Although the speculations of Madame de Stael on this subject are somewhat deficient in precision, they are more profound and scientific than in any other department of philosophy. Metaphysics, as we have already seen, she has treated in a light and superficial way; and the critical remarks on various ancient and modern writers interspersed in her different works, though often very just and ingenious, and always indicative of a highly cultivated mind, do not seem to be the result of a philosophical investigation of the principles of taste. In politics her observations are almost wholly practi-

cal; and she has made no effort to improve in theory the science of government. It would be difficult, however, to cite any political writings of modern times, which display a more truly liberal and philosophical spirit. Whatever errors there may be in her judgments respecting persons or things, they are never tinctured with malignity or vitiated by narrow and partial views. Her point of observation is uniformly elevated, and her scope of vision is consequently large and expansive. She rises above the bewildering and poisonous atmosphere of vulgar party spirit, and is ready to allow, that the mistakes of her adversaries and her own juster views are alike the results of the ordinary motives that influence opinion and conduct. A false judgment is not, with her, the necessary consequence of a bitter malignant spirit, but an accidental effect of the frailty of human nature. Though strongly attached to liberal institutions and representative government, she can still, at times, discover merit in a monarch, or even in a minister: and what is still more extraordinary, though warmly French in her sentiments, she is an enthusiastic admirer of England and every thing English. The only two points in which she exhibits strong prejudice are her partiality for her father and her hatred of Bonaparte. The first of these feelings is too natural and amiable to be excepted against, though it gives unquestionably a false coloring to the early part of her work on the revolution. The other has so much foundation in justice, that it is rather difficult to say where honest indignation ends and personal hostility begins. In her judgments of other characters, she uniformly displays the most amiable feelings. She is candid and charitable in her notices of acknowledged errors, generous in her construction of doubtful passages, and unreservedly liberal in her commendation of excellence, intellectual and moral. We rise from the perusal of her works, even such as treat of those topics that are ordinarily employed to excite the worst and most malignant passions, with warmer benevolence and higher ideas of the nature and destiny of man. The writer who can produce these effects has little need to be ambitious of higher excellence.

At this last appearance of Madame de Stael before the critical tribunal, we have thought it not unprofitable to take this general survey of her literary character, without entering into a detailed examination of her particular works, the most important of which have been noticed, as they appeared, in this

journal. It will be seen by the tone of our remarks, that in the deductions we have made from her merit we have not been moved by a wish to depreciate her reputation. It is due to justice to say, that she was unsuccessful alike in poetical invention and execution, to both which qualities she made pretensions; that she has no claim to the praise of discovery in her philosophical researches; and is far from being remarkable for developing the truths made known by others with logical correctness and precision. But after these exceptions are made, there will remain for Madame de Stael praise enough to satisfy the ambition of more than common minds. She thinks freely and writes with power and elegance upon the most important subjects. This union of merits is itself extremely rare and remarkable. Experience shows, that even in an age of refinement, there are not more than three or four individuals in a generation who can fairly make pretensions to it. When we add to this the exhibition of high moral enthusiasm, and all the most exalted and amiable feelings, that appears in her works, we may well conclude that there are few literary reputations, though belonging technically to a higher class, of which the daughter of Necker had reason to be envious. One of the strongest proofs of her real merit is the fact, that her writings are uniformly criticised and judged without regard to the sex of the author. No attempt is made to palliate their deficiencies or exalt their excellence by suggesting that the praise or the blame must attach to a lady. This consent of the public, which has not been shown in any other case, sufficiently proves that Madame de Stael was not an extraordinary female writer, but an extraordinary writer. With all the merit of the present race of female authors in England, no one of them that we recollect has a right to claim an equality with her in this particular, far less to contest her superiority. Of these writers Miss More has the least *femality* (to use a coarse word, manufactured by Richardson,) in her mode of thinking and writing; but her style, though pure and manly, has no grace and little power, and her reach of mind is limited. Though remarkable as a female writer, she is quite secondary in the general literary scale. In the works of Miss Edgeworth, however interesting and valuable, we catch not unfrequently, a glimpse of the petticoat. She is much more at home in the *boudoir* and the ball room than in the cabinet or the court of justice, and manages Mrs Falconer far

more gracefully than the commissioner or his dignified and somewhat dull master. She knits up and unravels the lady-like network of a love intrigue with good success, though fable is, after all, not her strong point; but the specimens she has given us in Patronage of her diplomatic and professional address are at best of equivocal merit. To our taste, and we say it without meaning to disparage but rather to exalt her reputation, she is, most of all happy and engaging in the citizen's workshop and parlor and the Irish cottage. These are her fields of triumph and thrones of glory. Indeed as we feel the tears stealing to our eyes at the mere recollection of some of these scenes, and think of the true poetical talent with which she has hit off many of her characters, as for instance the charming Geraldine, we are half tempted to return upon our decision, and award her the preference over Madame de Stael. Let the palm rest between them, as it does in almost every thing, between the two illustrious nations to which they belong.

The posthumous works of Madame de Stael, to which our attention is now particularly called, will add nothing to the literary reputation of their author. They are made up of her unsuccessful attempts at poetry, whether in verse or prose, already adverted to, and of a fragment, entitled *Ten years in Exile*, which, had it been completed, would have given the history of an interesting period in her own life. In its present shape, it is of very little value as a literary composition. It is not only an unfinished fragment, but a great part of it had already been employed as materials for the composition of the work on the revolution. Under these circumstances, the expediency of publishing it may perhaps be looked on as doubtful; but on the whole, we cannot regret the determination which has given us, though in an imperfect and mutilated form, the *autobiography* of so fine a writer. There are also a few passages of great interest, and which will serve as contributions to the political history of the period. Neither this work, nor that of Madame de Necker, nor both together, furnish a satisfactory account of the life of Madame de Stael; so that a biography of her is still a *desideratum*. The work of Madame de Necker is indifferently executed. It is almost wholly made up of speculations upon the value of the writings of her heroine—speculations which are hardly of the first order, and which, if they were better, are not what is expected from the writer of her biogra-

phy. Every reader may reason, according to the measure of his talent, upon her literary character; but her immediate friends alone are able to furnish us with the details of her history; and this was, of course, the proper field for Madame de Necker to expatiate in. We propose to fill up the remainder of this article with a brief abtract of the narrative contained in the *Ten years in Exile*, illustrated by a few of the most interesting passages.

The narrative commences about the year 1800, and the first chapters are occupied in explaining and giving the reason of the aversion shown to Madame de Stael by Bonaparte, even at this period, and his subsequent persecution of her. She affirms that her principal crime in his view was her love of liberty; and afterwards mentions some particular circumstances, apparently of no great importance, in which her influence was directed against his authority and administration. These motives of dislike may have had their weight; but we think that either from self-deception or for some other reason, she has not stated the real cause so explicitly as she might have done, although she has said enough to leave little doubt in the mind of an observing reader. Whatever may have been the feelings of the first consul towards her, it does not appear that she was in any respect molested for a long period after his elevation to the supreme power. She resided at Paris, and employed and amused herself in any way she thought proper, until about the year 1802. At that time a sort of conspiracy was formed against the government of Bonaparte, in which Madame de Stael took a part, and of which she would seem, even from her own account of it, which is however very imperfect, to have been one of the principal managers. The following paragraph contains the whole of what she says upon the subject.

'A number of generals and senators formed a party at that time, and addressed themselves to general Bernadotte, with a view of ascertaining from him, if nothing could be done to check the progress of the usurpation, then so rapidly advancing. Bernadotte proposed several plans, all founded in legislative measures, being opposed in principle to any step of a different kind. But such measures required an act of at least a part of the senate; and not a member could be found who dared to concur in such a proceeding. While this dangerous negotiation was in progress, I was frequently in company with

general Bernadotte and his friends. This was more than enough to ruin me, if these plans were brought to light. Bonaparte was heard to say, that the persons who frequented my house always left it with sentiments less favorable to him than those with which they entered it. Finally, he found it expedient to consider me as the only person criminal among many others, who were much more so than I was, but whom he could not so conveniently break with.'

This incident explains, we think, very sufficiently and satisfactorily the persecution of Madame de Stael by Napoleon, as well as his known and avowed dislike of Bernadotte. It appears from this account, however brief and imperfect, that a conspiracy against the power of the first consul was concerted with the privity and concurrence of Madame de Stael, and that the meetings were probably held at her house. It is evident that Bonaparte obtained information of the plot: and supposing it to have been managed with such prudence as to afford no pretext for proceeding against the principal active conspirators, it was natural and even justifiable that he should provide for his future safety by removing from the capital the person, whose conversation probably fomented the intrigue, and whose house was the rendezvous of those engaged in it. In saying that this step was justifiable, we shall of course not be understood to imply that an attempt to check the usurpations of Bonaparte, even by violent means, was criminal. It was doubtless on the contrary highly creditable to its authors, and if successful, might have been very advantageous to the state. But a person who adventures in so treacherous and doubtful a field as that of conspiracy, ought to be aware of the character of such enterprises, and not bewail his fate too loudly, if discovery ends in nothing worse than exile. It is idle to complain of any government, however violent and unjust, for proceeding with severity against its real and ascertained enemies; and there would be no merit in attempting to overthrow such a government, if failure and discovery were not to be attended with personal inconvenience. The part taken by Madame de Stael in this conspiracy was, therefore, as we imagine, her real crime, and not her passion for liberty in the abstract, nor even her refusal to flatter the emperor in her writings. In fact, the distinguished literary characters of the time, though of opposite political sentiments, were rather courted than persecuted by Napoleon:

and some, whose opinions were still more hostile to him than those of Madame de Stael, but who had the prudence to abstain from overt acts, as for example M. de Châteaubriand, resided very quietly at Paris throughout his whole reign. It is also precisely at this period, as she herself admits, that the violent proceedings of Bonaparte against her commenced. Immediately upon the detection of the intrigue in question, she voluntarily retired to Switzerland, doubtless with the view of providing for her safety, and did not attempt for some time to return to Paris. The next year, thinking that Bonaparte, who was then busily engaged in making preparations for his descent upon England, had forgotten her, but still not choosing to trust herself at Paris, she ventured to take a country house in the neighborhood of that capital, and occasionally to make her appearance there. 'I confess,' she observes here with a singular simplicity, 'I confess that I do not see what inconvenience it would have been to the First Consul, had he permitted me to remain at this retreat in voluntary exile.' The inconvenince is plain enough. A person, who has already organized one conspiracy, can hardly be trusted with safety in a situation, which affords an opportunity of organizing another. The most decided enemies of Bonaparte can hardly deny that his conduct in this respect, was perfectly reasonable; and it is evident that in confining his precautions to banishment from Paris, without recurring to the severer measures of imprisonment or death, which were nevertheless familiar to him, he gave clear proofs of a wish to avoid the public scandal of treating too harshly a woman of distinguished genius. She received, however, an order to remove forty leagues from the capital; and it was at this time that she determined on travelling in Germany.

Upon the view we have here taken of the relations between Madame de Stael and Bonaparte, according to the account she has given of them herself, it appears that her complaints of persecution were entirely groundless. She seems to have had a vague notion that the emperor was bound to treat her, at the very moment when she was aiming a dagger at his heart, with all the gallantry and regard due to her sex and genius. She engages in a secret attempt to overturn by violence a powerful military government, and when detected, complains with bitterness that she is not allowed to enjoy, as before, all her usual comforts. A person who had composed a tragedy upon

the history of lady Jane Grey, ought to have known that slighter offences than hers had brought much loftier heads to the block, at the order of tyrants less remorseless than Bonaparte.

Few particulars are given of her travels in Germany, the matter having been treated in her separate work on that country. She was accompanied on this journey by Benjamin Constant. She resided three months at Weimar, and there made the acquaintance of Göthe, Wieland, and Schiller, of whom she has given her opinion at large in her Germany. At this place she also received intelligence of the illness of her father; and immediately returned in haste to Copet, but did not reach that place in time to be present at his death. In the year 1804, she published a collection of M. Necker's manuscripts, with a notice of his life, and then to console her sorrows, undertook the journey to Italy, the fruits of which appeared in Corinna. At this period she made another attempt to return to Paris. As a preliminary step, she established herself at the permitted distance of forty leagues; and soon after, by the indulgence of Fouché, then minister of police, she was allowed to approach within twelve. But the publication of Corinna awakened anew the attention of Bonaparte, and she received immediately after another sentence of exile. The intervening time between this period, and her final departure from Switzerland in 1812, was passed principally at Copet, and employed in the composition of the work on Germany. There is an interruption in this part of the memoirs; and the narrative is continued by the insertion of a brief notice of the principal facts written by the editor. The son, as is not unnatural, takes part with the mother in her complaints of her unjust persecution by Napoleon. After finishing the work on Germany, she made another approach to the capital of France to superintend the printing of it. The book, as is well known, was suppressed, when it was all printed and just on the eve of publication, and the disappointed author returned once more in sadness to Switzerland. Here she was subjected to so strict a *surveillance*, and her domestic comfort was disturbed by such various molestations, that the residence became intolerable to her; and she determined, finally, to make her escape, and to pass by way of Austria, Russia, and the North of Europe, into England. After much preliminary doubt and hesitation, she finally attempted this

scheme, and effected it with very little difficulty and no obstruction on the part of the French government. The account of this journey occupies the greater part of the narrative in the work we are reviewing; but is only brought down to her arrival at Stockholm. The passages of most interest contain her observations at St Petersburg. The following account of her presentation to the emperor Alexander is curious in itself, and still more so, from the light, which subsequent events have thrown upon the character of this sovereign.

'At length I saw this monarch, absolute by the laws and usages of his country, but so moderate by his own inclination. I was first presented to the empress Elizabeth; and she appeared to me like the guardian angel of Russia. While I was conversing with the empress, a door opened, and the emperor Alexander did me the honor to come in and speak to me. The first thing, that struck me in him, was an expression of goodness and of dignity, so strong, that the two qualities appeared to be inseparable, and to form but one. I was also much impressed by the noble simplicity with which he immediately began to converse upon the great interests of Europe. I have always regarded as a sign of mediocrity, the unwillingness to talk upon matters of importance, which has become habitual with all the European sovereigns. They are afraid to utter a word which has any real meaning. The emperor Alexander talked with me, on the contrary, as the statesmen of England would have done, who trust to their own strength, and not the external pomp and circumstance of their offices. This emperor, whom Napoleon attempted to degrade in the public opinion, is a man of remarkable talent and information; and I doubt whether he could find in his whole empire, a minister more capable than himself of directing the public affairs. He did not conceal from me the regret he felt, for the admiration which he had publicly exhibited of Napoleon. His ancestor, Peter III, was seduced into a similar enthusiasm for Frederic II. In these illusions, created by extraordinary characters, there is always something generous, however unfortunate may be the consequences. The emperor described with great ability the effect produced upon him by his conversations with Bonaparte, in which the latter often made the most inconsistent remarks; as if thinking that all would be received with admiration, without any feeling of their contradictory character. He also communicated to me the Machiavelian instructions which Napoleon thought proper to give him. "Observe, how I take care to excite quarrels among my generals and ministers, that they may reveal to me each other's faults. I keep up about me a continual jealousy by the manner in which I treat them. Sometimes one thinks himself preferred,

and then another; so that nobody can ever be sure of my favor." What a vulgar and vicious theory is this! Will there never appear a man superior to this man, who can prove its falsity? The only thing wanting to the sacred cause of morality is to be attended in this world with great and brilliant success. One who duly appreciates the dignity of this cause would, without doubt, feel a pleasure in sacrificing to it every other consideration; but those presumptuous souls who regard vice as a proof of sound and deep thinking, require to be taught by example, that if immorality is sometimes compatible with talent, genius may also be the attendant of virtue. I was satisfied of the good faith of the emperor Alexander in his relations with Napoleon; and was convinced at the same time, that he would never imitate the conduct of the unfortunate German sovereigns, by signing a peace with one who is equally the enemy of sovereigns and nations. A noble mind will never be deceived twice by the same person. Alexander gives and withdraws his confidence with great reflection. His youth and personal advantages threw upon him, at the beginning of his reign, some suspicions of frivolity; but he is serious, like all who have suffered. Alexander expressed to me his regret at not being a great captain. In answer to so noble a proof of modesty, I remarked, that sovereigns were even more rare than generals; and that to keep up the spirit of the nation, by his example, was the most important of victories, and the first of the kind that had been gained in these struggles. The emperor spoke to me with enthusiasm of his people and their future destinies. He intimated the desire, which he is generally known to feel, of improving the condition of the peasants who are still in slavery. "Sire," said I, "your character is a constitution to your empire, and your conscience is the security of it." "If this were true," he replied, "I should still be only a fortunate accident." What a noble remark! The first of the kind, I fancy, that an absolute monarch ever pronounced. What virtue it requires in a despot to pass such a sentence upon despotism! and what virtue too, it requires never to abuse power in a country where public opinion is so far from demanding moderation, that the people are almost astonished at its exercise.'

Late events have shown very clearly, that whatever confidence the conscience of the emperor Alexander may inspire in the minds of his subjects, it is no sufficient security against the abuse of his influence over foreign powers. The representation here given of his disposition at a preceding period, towards Bonaparte, is tinged with a favorable coloring, which nothing could excuse, but the sympathy naturally inspired by his situation at the time when this passage was written. A

mind, which could be seduced by the glare of military success, encircling the name of Bonaparte, into a passionate admiration of his character, and a public approval of his measures, by cooperation, even to the invasion of Spain, must be strangely wanting in firmness; and a conscience which can lend itself to such illusions is a poor security for the rights of a great nation. That Peter III. felt a similar enthusiasm for the great Frederic may be true; but the example is not very flattering to the emperor Alexander, who probably aspires to a higher reputation than that of his besotted and miserable great grandfather; while, in order to defend him on the authority of this instance, it would be necessary to suppose him as much weaker than Peter, as Bonaparte was more unprincipled, and less accomplished than the hero of Brandenburgh. We can hardly exculpate Madame de Stael, in this point, of intentional flattery, a heinous offence in so warm a champion of liberal principles and generous feelings. We are not, however, disposed to deny that her general idea of the emperor's moral character is substantially just. We believe his disposition to be naturally good and generous, and are ready to admit that even in supporting the late invasion of Italy, he did not wilfully sin against his conscience, but really believed himself to be doing God service. His honesty in these measures was of the same description with that, which lighted the faggots for Cranmer, and hung the witches at Salem. Minds much stronger than the emperor's have been subdued by the influence of prevailing opinions; and a powerful military despot, who is led to trample on the rights of other nations by a fanatical zeal for what he believes to be a good cause, is, in our opinion, a much more dangerous person, than a sovereign merely ambitious of greatness and glory. The proceedings of the former will probably be found to be more violent, more unjust, and perhaps more cruel. The conscience of an individual is, therefore, no sufficient guarantee for any rights whatever, and it is the great advantage of liberal institutions and representative governments, that they protect the people, alike from the wilful oppression of profligate rulers, and the equally fatal errors of the well meaning. These institutions throw upon the march of government the broad daylight of public opinion. Public opinion itself may, at times, be erroneous; but it is the last tribunal to which an appeal can be made on this side the grave; and where the form of

government allows it a full and free expression, its counsels may generally be followed with confidence by honest rulers, as they must be obeyed, however reluctantly, by all. While with these reservations we adopt the opinion of Madame de Stael respecting the moral character of the emperor of Russia, we find ourselves unable to agree with her, in pronouncing him a man of remarkable talent and information. Every thing has, doubtless, been done for his mind, which could be effected by the most careful and judicious course of training; and he is much superior to the great majority of persons belonging to the same social class; but we are not aware that he has exhibited any clear proofs of possessing great intellectual energy; and he certainly has given many of wanting it.

There is little novelty in the remarks of Madame de Stael upon the general character of the Russians. She was forcibly struck with the high civilization of the nobles, and the rude barbarity of the general mass. Her representation of the character of both classes is perhaps rather more favorable than strict justice would admit, but is in the main, substantially just. The following passages contain some of her reflections on the Russian character, and may perhaps be interesting at a time when the public attention is so strongly directed towards this vast empire, and when the important part which it is destined to play in the future history of Europe is becoming every day more and more perceptible.

'No civilized nation is so nearly savage as Russia; and even the nobles when they possess mental energy, exhibit the faults and the virtues of unreclaimed nature. Much praise has been bestowed on the celebrated remark of Diderot, "*The Russians rotted before they ripened;*" but the observation is wholly false. Their vices, with some exceptions, are those of barbarism, and not of corruption. *A Russian wish would blow up a city*, said a man of talent, and when they desire to accomplish any object good or bad, they are alternately furious and cunning. Their character is not changed by the rapid civilization introduced by Peter. Hitherto it has only polished their manners, and fortunately for them, they remain what we call barbarians, that is, they act from feelings, often generous, but always instinctive; and employ reflection only in the choice of means, and never in that of ends. I say fortunately for them, not because I think the state of barbarism desirable, but because this native energy of character is the only substitute in nations for the reflecting and deliberate power of freedom.

'The people, it may be said, are in slavery; how then can they be supposed to have a character. Certainly I need not say, that every enlightened man desires to see them raised above this situation, and the emperor Alexander more than any body else. But the slavery of the Russians does not correspond in its effects, with the idea we form of it in the west. This relation is not like that which existed under the feudal system, when a conquering nation had imposed severe laws upon a conquered one. It is more like the state of family servitude among the ancients. There is no middling class *(tiers état)* in Russia. This is a great evil as regards the progress of literature and the arts, which generally flourish but in this portion of society; but the absence of any intervening order between the nobles and the slaves, produces a greater attachment between them than would otherwise exist. The distance appears very great from one of these orders to the other, because they are two extremes, unconnected by any intermediate link; but this very circumstance brings them in reality much more frequently into contact. This state of society is very unfavorable to the improvement of the higher classes, but not to the happiness of the lower. In countries where there is no representative government, and where the monarch makes himself the law which he is to execute, the people are often more debased by the sacrifice of independence and opinion, required by such a political constitution, than they are in this empire, where a few simple ideas of religion and patriotism serve to maintain the influence of a small number of lords over a vast uncivilized mass. The immense extent of the Russian empire prevents the despotism of the nobles from pressing as heavily as it otherwise would, upon the peasants. A religious and a military spirit are also generally prevalent, and we may readily overlook some deficiencies in a country where two such excellent motives of conduct are in steady operation. A man of great talent remarked, that Russia resembled the plays of Shakspeare, where every thing which is not sublime is faulty; and every thing which is not faulty is sublime. This observation is perfectly just; but in the very difficult crisis which existed at the time when I visited this people, it was impossible not to admire their energetic resistance to the invader, and their cheerful resignation to the necessary sacrifices. Where such virtues were actually exhibited, it was hardly possible to notice the faults which might have been remarked at other times.'

We quote these passages without pretending to adopt or contest the opinions; but merely with a view of communicating to the reader the sentiments of so enlightened an observer on a very important subject.

The determined and bitter hostility of Madame de Stael to

the now departed military tyrant of her country, is a remarkable feature in this work, as in the one on the French revolution. It is expressed in this in a still more unqualified form than in the other, partly, perhaps, because the rude lines of a first sketch had not been corrected and softened for the public eye, and partly because the work was written at the period of the emperor's worst and wildest extravagance, and when the writer was suffering strongly herself under the 'continual stroke' of his iron sceptre. When she published the work on the French revolution, her great enemy had already lost his power; and even then it began to be perceived, that there were other rulers in the world not wholly indisposed to play in their turn the game of tyranny. Under these circumstances she was able to treat the character and history of Bonaparte with more coolness and judgment; and though there are still strong symptoms of personal feeling, we perceive something of the dignity and impartiality of history. In the present work a tone of passion and petulance prevails throughout on the subject; and it tends very strongly to defeat the unfavorable impression which might otherwise be made by the facts related and the opinions given. This circumstance might have been considered as a reason among others, for suppressing the work out of regard for the author's reputation.

Independently of the unfortunate tone of most of the observations upon that point, the substance of them is far from being always correct or even plausible. There is too obvious an effort to degrade the character of Napoleon for talent, as well as to inculpate his motives and conduct. If we merely look at his political and military successes, it is evident that the production of such effects, in an age like this, demands intellectual powers of the highest order. An Attila or a Gengiskan may ravage half the globe, without any qualities but brutal courage and a wild barbarian energy of mind and body; but to establish a dominion, though merely military, over an enlightened continent like Europe, is an achievement of a different sort; and supposes, in addition to the virtues of a great commander, a natural dignity and elevation of mind. Is it possible that a vulgar spirit should raise itself, by its own efforts, from the lowest ranks in the army to the throne of one of the most powerful and civilized nations in Europe; and should then push the greatness of this nation to a point which it never reached before, and extend its influence over a great

part of the continent? But, independently of the proofs, drawn from these prodigious results of the naturally elevated character of their author, he has given others in abundance still more direct and decisive. Was it a vulgar spirit that projected and completed the noblest code of laws that the world has yet seen, as much superior to the undigested mass of the Justinian collection, as the universe is to the chaos out of which it was formed? Was it a vulgar spirit, that brought together with so perfect a taste the finest specimens of the arts from all other countries, and opened them to the world with such princely magnificence in the unrivalled gallery of the Louvre? Finally, was it a vulgar spirit that could find time amid the various and numberless occupations of the most active life that man ever led, to take an interest in almost every department of knowledge, and to obtain a sufficient acquaintance with all, to be able to converse upon them with satisfaction and credit?

Bonaparte was certainly little in some points, as in the importance which he attached towards the close of his reign to the childish foppery of court etiquette. But almost every character is, to a certain extent, a union of inconsistencies; and the prevailing vices of this personage were of the exactly opposite description. Ambition of the wildest and most extravagant stamp was the ruling passion of his mind. Had this disposition been controlled, in its practical operation, by the influence of moral feelings or principles, it might have produced the happiest results for its possessor and the world. But morality, whether founded in principle or feeling, seems to have been a thing of which he had no notion whatever. We find no traces in his history of benevolent sentiments in any of their various forms; and he trampled under foot the endearing relations of blood and birth, with the same savage indifference which he showed for the just rights of individuals, with whom he was unconnected. His mother was not allowed to sit in his reception room; and his brothers were persecuted by him with such relentless severity, that some of them fled from his presence, and the rest were ready to expire under its terrors. Lucien, whose influence contributed so much to give him his power, found it expedient to retire into voluntary exile. To serve his political purposes he divorced and broke the heart of an amiable and affectionate wife, who had been his companion and benefactress in his humbler fortunes;

and he imposed on his brothers, sacrifices of the same kind, to serve not their views, but his own. Jerome must be divorced, and Louis must marry to gratify his ambition or something worse. The light in which he viewed his confidential agents and officers has been seen, in his conversation above cited with the emperor Alexander. In this total deficiency of natural affection in all its forms, he differs disadvantageously from the two most distinguished conquerors of antiquity; and approaches more nearly to the great Frederic, whose heart was also of the consistency of one of his own cannon balls. The only intellectual vice of Bonaparte was extravagance; and it was this that caused his ruin. With all his contempt for the rights and feelings of others he might have maintained himself to the last, and transmitted his sceptre to a long line of descendants, had he known how to temper the wildness of his ambition, with even a moderate infusion of good sense and discretion. This defect in his understanding, had been observed by those who were acquainted with him, before he had betrayed its existence to the public, by the incredible follies that marked the close of his reign. General Moreau, as we are told by Madame de Stael, observed at his residence on the Delaware, upon hearing of the failure of some attempt at conspiracy in France, 'the French have not the art of managing this sort of business; but there is one conspirator to whose machinations he must ultimately fall a victim,—I mean himself.'

If Madame de Stael has shown a want of cool judgment in attempting to underrate the talents of Napoleon, she is also not always correct in estimating the moral character of his particular actions; but dwells perhaps with an emphasis not wholly just on actions either of doubtful authenticity or disputed morality. This remark, however, must not be made without exception, for in regard to some separate acts of an atrocious character, which have been attributed to Bonaparte with greater or less degrees of probability, she observes with propriety, that as the correctness of these statements is after all doubtful, to insist much upon them, while it shows a strong sentiment of hostility, has a tendency rather favorable than otherwise to the general reputation of Napoleon, because it seems to argue that the acts, which can be laid to his charge with certainty, are not heinous enough for his condemnation.

In reality, however, the undisputed crimes of this personage

are sufficiently enormous to relieve the bitterest of his foes, did they know how to unite even a moderate share of discretion with their animosity, from the necessity of inventing new ones or insisting upon such as are doubtful. The first and greatest of the number was the employment of the influence he had acquired by his military successes to destroy the liberty of his country. The fortune of France, at least for a length of time, was in his hands. It was in his power to establish her political institutions upon solid foundations, or to build up his own false greatness upon the ruins of every other interest. He chose the latter course, and preferred the part of Cromwell to that of Washington. His second crime, scarcely inferior in magnitude to the first, was the abuse of this ill-gotten greatness to the destruction of the independence and welfare of every foreign nation within his reach. These are the acts for which his memory will be execrated by the friends of liberty, as long as liberty shall have a friend; and while European courtiers are wasting their sorrows upon the untimely grave of a single unfortunate prince, the wise and good of all countries and ages, with whom a prince is no more than any other man, will only lament his fate in common with that of millions, more unfortunate and more innocent, whose lives and happiness were sacrificed by an individual to the vain phantom of military glory.

One of the great singularities in the every way singular fortunes of this personage, was the lingering constancy with which the affection of the people still hung about him to the last, notwithstanding his early and shameless defection from the cause of freedom, and his subsequent intolerable abuse of power. The friends of liberty throughout the world, especially the less enlightened among them, and those whose opinions are rather the result of impulse than reflection, regarded him, even in the days of his worst excesses, with the sort of distressing interest, which a lover feels for a fair and faithless mistress, who has forfeited his esteem, without having wholly lost her hold upon his affections. A sentiment of this kind was observable in the language of some of the most respectable members of the British parliament; and traces of it might even be perceived in the views of the most decidedly republican portion of our republican community. It was a remarkable thing to see the character and cause of a military despot treated with a sort of indulgence, by so large a part

of a nation, which lives and moves and has its being in the atmosphere of liberty and equality. But here, as elsewhere, men could not wholly separate in their imagination the past from the present; they could not forget at once that Bonaparte, in his earliest and best and happiest days, had been the asserter of the good cause against the Holy Alliance of his time; and that he had trampled upon many a diadem before he stooped to pick up one of them, and disgrace his manly brow with its childish finery. Even after he had assumed the disguise of an emperor, they could not help feeling that he was originally one of themselves; and when they saw him pouring out his fury upon other established governments, from whose abuses they had formerly suffered, they did not realise, in a moment, that his own was infinitely more tyrannical than any that preceded it. The very enormity of his treason against the cause of liberty prevented the people from viewing it, at first, in its true light. It seemed impossible in the nature of things, that the noblest of her champions should have sunk at once, from the loftiest heights of glory to the lowest depth of moral degradation. They could not help flattering themselves, although against the evidence of their senses, that there was some deception in this apparent apostacy, that the general good required that the cause of the people should be entrusted, for a time, to an arbitrary dictator, and that, after beating down all opposition and rooting out every where the last vestiges of ancient abuses, this mighty champion would resign his truncheon of office, return to the ranks from which he had emerged, and pay his vows again at the altar of freedom. Such, or similar to these, were the willing delusions of many true patriots in various countries. They were not wholly dissipated at the time of the fall of Bonaparte; and the compassion naturally inspired by so strange a reverse of fortune, contributed to sustain and even heighten this singular sort of interest: so that it continued to attend him even in his last lonely retreat. Liberty, remembering the ardent zeal and brilliant exploits of her youthful hero, did not disdain to cheer the dark hours of the wretched and fallen apostate from her cause, with a few lingering gleams of affection. Lord Holland, and some other enthusiastic partisans of popular principles, raised their voices in favor of Bonaparte in the British parliament, when every body else had deserted him except his own family and the faithful companions of his

exile: and the care and kindness of these generous souls contributed something to the comfort of his latter years. If a heart like his were susceptible of remorse and shame, such treatment would have been far more cutting to him than the persecution of his avowed enemies.

We have been led into these observations in part by the occasional interest now attached to the name and character of Bonaparte, in consequence of his death; an event, the very indifference of which, in a political point of view, makes it more remarkable, than it would have been under any other circumstances. We trust that we have not offended the spirit of Madame de Stael in devoting a few pages to the memory of her great antagonist, since she expresses a hope, in the commencement of her memoirs, that in speaking of herself she shall often be able to withdraw the reader's attention from her own affairs. However unfortunate for her peace may have been her connexion with the history of Bonaparte, we are not sure that it is not one of the circumstances which will contribute most powerfully to maintain her hold upon the attention of posterity. She has indeed expressed this opinion herself, in a letter which she wrote to him upon the occasion of his first order of exile. She observes, 'You are giving me a sad celebrity—I shall occupy one of the pages in your history.'

ART. IX.—*Uebersicht aller bekannten Sprachen und ihrer Dialekte.—A Survey of all the known Languages and their Dialects. By Frederick Adelung, Counsellor of State, &c. &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. xiv–186. St Petersburg. 1820.

THIS work has already been briefly noticed in a journal printed in another part of the United States;* but the importance of the subject, as well as the value of the work itself, would render it inexcusable in us to omit giving some account of its contents, for the information of readers in this quarter of our country. We are the more induced to do this, as we have not yet seen any notice of the work in those *English* journals, which have the most general circulation among us. The subject of our article will, therefore, have the attraction

* The Rev. Mr Schaeffer's *German Correspondent*, Nos vii and viii.

of novelty, if the reader should find no other inducement to follow us through our remarks upon it; and the present work will have the more importance in the estimation of an American reader, when he is apprised of the simple fact, that more than *one third* part of all the languages of the globe belong to our continent, in which this learned author enumerates the astonishing number of *twelve hundred and fourteen* native dialects!

If the present age is to be hereafter celebrated for its extensive and exact researches in those branches of physical knowledge, which had been before studied and in some sort digested into the form of sciences, it will be no less remarkable as the epoch of a *new science* also—the *comparative science of languages*. Until the present period, the languages of man have been for the most part studied singly, and merely with a view to an intercourse between nations for commercial or literary purposes. Just as man, in the early periods of his history, contented himself with studying the properties and phenomena of his native planet, with a view to his immediate necessities, comfort, or pleasure; and did not once think of extending his inquiries even to the other parts of the planetary system, much less to the worlds beyond those worlds. By degrees, however, he dared to venture beyond the narrow bounds of this little globe, and began to observe the other bodies in the system, and to compare their phenomena with those of his own planet; and at length, under the direction of the powerful minds of Newton, La Place, and their illustrious pupils, he has been enabled to unravel their countless irregularities, and arrange them into that wonderful science, which such names alone would be sufficient to immortalize.

In the same manner, since the impulse given by that extraordinary princess, Catharine the Great (for we pass over the original hints which were given by the great Leibnitz, because they lay unheeded till our own times,)—since that impulse, we say, the science of comparative philology has grown up and advanced with no less rapid a pace than even chemistry or any other part of physical science. Man is no longer satisfied with studying the peculiarities of two or three languages of his immediate neighbors, with the limited views we have mentioned; but he now takes a wider range, and studies the *phenomena* of language (if we may so speak) as he investigates the phenomena of any other part of his own nature or

of the physical world in general. The prosecution of these inquiries has been attended with the more brilliant success, as the learned of the present day, instead of speculating *a priori* upon what languages ought to be, have, after the example of the great masters in other sciences, been endeavoring to ascertain the simple fact—*what they are;* or (to adopt the fashionable language of the day) are following the *method of induction*—that much vaunted method, which has of late been so often forced upon our attention as the peculiar discovery of modern times; when, in truth, it had been applied centuries ago by that most universal genius of antiquity, that very philosopher, Aristotle, whom 'the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind' and other moderns have most unjustly (but, we ought in candor to hope, unintentionally) treated as if he were a stranger to it, and indeed as the patron of the opposite method of attaining knowledge. Well would it have been, if these philosophers had themselves always followed the same method in forming their judgments of that extraordinary man, and, before they ventured to condemn his supposed opinions, had first carefully examined his works to ascertain what his opinions were.

The learned, as we have remarked, are now studying languages, as we study other parts of human knowledge—by collecting *facts*—by ascertaining what languages there are on the globe, and collecting vocabularies, or specimens, of them all. The work now before us, though small in bulk, must have been the result of great labor, and is of the first importance in the inquiries which are now making in comparative philology. It is a *catalogue* of all the languages of the globe, as far as it has been possible to ascertain them; and, that the author has made a very near approximation to the true number, seems in the highest degree probable, when we consider the numerous regions over which his *Survey* carries us, and the prodigious sum total which his list exhibits; as the reader will be able to judge for himself from the general view that will presently be laid before him.

We should, however, first apprise those readers, who have not particularly attended to the investigations which are now going on in Europe, that the present work constitutes but a very small part of the grand and extensive plan of the learned author; it is, in fact, a mere index or prospectus, though a most valuable one, to the intended Bibliotheca Glottica;

and that the reader may have some conception of the proposed work and its great importance to the learned world, we shall here insert the analysis of the author's general introduction to the great work. This introduction alone, (as has been justly observed,) will of itself form 'a most important and interesting work.'

'Introduction to the *Bibliotheca Glottica.*

I. History of the general science of languages.
II. Early attempts at a bibliotheca glottica.
III. Of language in general:
  1. The faculty of speech in man; considered
    a. Physiologically.
    b. Psychologically; with an Appendix, on the language of brutes.
  2. The origin of language:
    a. Divine; by direct communication.
    b. Human:
      α. Arbitrary.
      β. Accidental.
  3. On the original (or primitive) language.
  4. Question, which is the oldest of the known languages?
  5. The language of signs.
  6. On the diversity of languages, and their physical, historical, and moral causes.
  7. History of the attempts at a universal language.
IV. General grammar.
V. Of writing:
  1. The origin of writing:
    a. Pictures.
    b. Hieroglyphics:
      α. Egyptian,
      β. Mexican,
      γ. Various others.
    c. Alphabetic writing.
    d. Arrow (or Babylonish) characters.
  2. Account of all the known alphabets.
  3. History of the attempts at a universal character.
  4. Short-hand writing:
    a. Stenography.
    b. Tachygraphy.
    c. Pasigraphy.
    d. Abbreviations (or contractions:)
      α. Notæ Tironianæ.
      β. Monograms.
  5. Secret writing:

a. Cryptography; steganography.
b. Cyphers.
α. The art of decyphering.
β. History of cyphers.
γ. On the nature of cyphers.
c. Telegraphy.

VI. Affinity (or connexion) of languages.

VII. Works on the comparative science of languages, (or comparative philology:)

1. Polyglots:
a. Dictionaries.
b. Grammars.
c. Bibles.
d. The Lord's Prayer, collections of.
e. Separate essays:
α. Bachmeister's specimen.
β. The parable of the Prodigal Son.
γ. The words of the great comparative vocabulary [of Catharine II.]
2. Comparisons of various languages with each other.
3. Maps of languages.

VIII. Dead languages:

1. Ancient.
2. Modern:
a. Literature.
b. Remains of languages.'

Such is the gigantic plan, which the learned author hopes to see carried into execution; and, as the basis of it is to be *facts*, he begins by an attempt to ascertain the names of all the languages of the globe and to collect specimens of every dialect. This labor, (as he justly observes in his preface, p. iv.) was by far the most difficult part of his undertaking. But, that he has been eminently successful in this particular will be evident from the following result of his labors:

'That my work will be free from errors I cannot expect; but I venture to affirm, that it gives a more complete view of the subject than has hitherto appeared, and perhaps than it has been possible to exhibit. For this advantage it is indebted to the abundant sources of information, which the modern travels, particularly of the English, the bible societies, and the more extended range of philological science, have opened during the last ten years;* and it will hardly appear credible to those, who

* The author here, in a note, acknowledges his obligations to the *Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical*

have not ascertained the fact by comparison, that my *survey* exhibits

987 names of Asiatic languages,
587 European,
276 African; and
1214 American;

making, consequently, in the whole 3064 languages and dialects; while the indefatigable and successful diligence of the authors of *The Mithridates* could collect together only about 2000.' *Pref. p. vii, viii.*

The work consists of two parts; in the first, the author gives a list of all the languages, arranged according to their respective stocks, or families, and the geographical situation of the nations that speak them; and in the second part, the names of the languages are arranged alphabetically under each quarter of the globe.

1 ASIA.

Monosyllabic—

I. Chinese.
II. Tibetian, Thöbböt, Tangutian.
III. Boman, Boma, Barma, Burman, Byamma, Myamma, Avan.
IV. Peguan.
V. Anamitic.
VI. Siamese, Siuanlo.

Polysyllabic; arranged under the following geographical divisions:

A. *Southern Asia;* comprehending

I. The Malay; from the eastern coast of Africa and Madagascar, to Easter Island in the South Sea.
II. Farther India, stock of.

B. *Western Asia;* comprehending

I. The Semitic stock.
II. Armenian, Haikan.
III. Georgian, Grusinian, Iberian.
IV. Caucasian.

C. *Middle Asia;* comprehending

I. The Turcico-Tatar stock.
II. Mongolian.
III. Mandschu.
IV. Corean.

Society of Philadelphia; which, he says, furnished him with *thirty* new names of American dialects. He also particularly mentions Mr *Du Ponceau* in terms of high and just commendation.

D. *Northern Asia.* Siberia; comprehending

I. Various mixed nations on the frontiers of Asia and Europe.

II. Samoyedes.

III. Nations of various unknown stocks in North-eastern Asia.

E. *Islands of Eastern Asia;* comprehending

I. Sachalin, or Tschoka.

II. Japan.

III. Insu, Jedso, Tschika.

IV. Lieu-Kieu islands, Lgutschu islands, Lew-Chew.

V. Formosa.

2. EUROPE.

I. Cantabrian, or Basque.*

II. Celtic stock.

III. Celtico-Germanic, or Cimbrian stock.

IV. German (Germanischer) stock;† comprehending

A. The German (Deutscher) main stock.

B. Scandinavian main stock.

C. English.

V. Thracico-Pelasgic Greek and Latin stock; comprehending

A. The Thracico-Illyrian main stock, in Asia Minor and in Europe.

B. Pelasgic main stock.

C. Hellenic-Greek main stock.

D. Latin stock.

VI. Slavonic (Slavischer) stock.

VII. Germanico-Slavonic, or Lettish stock.

VIII. Romano-Slavonic, or Wallachian.

IX. Tshudish stock.

X. Mixed languages on the south-eastern border of Europe, (comprehending the Hungarian and Albanian, with their dialects.)

3. AFRICA.

I. Northern Africa; towards the southern frontiers of Sahara:

A. Barbary.

* Since the publication of the work now under consideration, that distinguished scholar, baron *William von Humboldt*, has published a profoundly learned work relating to the *Basque* language, entitled, *An examination of the Researches respecting the original Inhabitants of Spain; by means of the Basque language;* printed at Berlin during the present year. We have but just received this important work, and notice it now, merely for the purpose of apprising our readers, that it contains an interesting section '*On the supposed affinity of the Basque with the American languages.*' We hope soon to be able to give an account of the work. Rev.

† This has sometimes been called the *Teutonic* stock, and in English we are in want of a distinct generic name for it. Our English names, *German* and *Dutch*, are too limited for this purpose. Rev.

B. Guanchen.

II. Middle Africa:

A. Northeastern nations *(comprehending the Copts, Nubians, and Abyssinians.)*

B. Countries between Sahara and Gulbi.

C. Middle Africa, Proper *(comprehending the Yalofs, Mandingoes, Congoes.)*

D. The greater part of the imperfectly known territories in the interior of Africa, from Abyssinia, &c.

E. The Caffres; from Quiloa to the Hottentots.

III. The southern extremity of Africa *(including the Hottentots &c.)*

4. AMERICA.

I. South America.

II. Middle America.

III. North America:

A. The northern parts of New Mexico with California and the west coast of America to Prince William's Sound.

B. Territories on the west side of the Mississippi, and between that river and the Missouri and Arkansas.

C. Territories on the east side of the Mississippi, to the Ohio and the eastern Great Lakes.

D. Northern territories on the eastern coast and Hudson's Bay; above and below the Great Lakes towards the great western chain of mountains.

E. The territories on the northern coast from Greenland and Labrador to Behring's straits, and from the peninsula of Alaksa to Prince William's Sound.'

Under the North American divisions, which are above designated by the letters B and C (territories east and west of the Mississippi), the author enumerates many names which are familiar to us; but he also mentions a great number, of which we have seldom or never heard. As this region of the continent is the most interesting to an American reader, we have thought it might be useful to give the whole list in detail; in order that any omissions and errors (if any such exist) may be supplied and corrected by our countrymen. This extract will at the same time give the reader an idea of the extraordinary minuteness of the whole work.

'B. Territories on the WEST side of the Mississippi &c.

a. Indian stocks at the sources of the Missouri:

1. The Blood Indians.

2. Paegans, Picaneaux.

3. Black-foot Indians.
4. Fall Indians.
5. Minetares.
6. Snake Indians.
7. Crow Indians.
8. Achwahhaway.
9. Mandans.

b. Naudowessies, Narcotah :

α. On the banks of the waters of the St Croix :

1. Nehogatawonas.
2. Matabantowas. [Mawtawbauntowahs. *Carver.*]
3. Schahswintowaher. [Shahsweentowahs. *Id.*]

β. Naudowessies of the Plains :

1. Wapintowas.
2. Tintons.
3. Ascahcutons.
4. Mahas.
5. Shians.
6. Shianis.
7. Tschunguscetons.
8. Waddapachestens.
9. Assiniboils. Assinipoils. Assiniboins. Assinipoetuk. (As-sin-e-po-e-tue.) Sioux. Stone-Sioux, Stone Indians.
   - *aa.* Manetopa.
   - *bb.* Oseegah.
   - *cc.* Mantopanato.
10. Wahpatone.
11. Mindawarcaton.
12. Yanktongs.
    - *aa.* Minowa—Kantongs.
    - *bb.* Washpetong.
    - *cc.* Sussitongs.
    - *dd.* Titong, Tetons.
      - *αα.* Okandandas.
      - *ββ.* Minnakinneazzo.
      - *γγ.* Sahone.

c. On the east side of the Mississippi.

1. Sakies, Saukis.
2. Ottogamies.
3. Menomenes, Folle Avoine.

d. Osages and Panis. [Pawnees.]

α. Osages :

1. Winnebagoes. Puants.
2. Ayouas.

3. Otataches.
4. Missouris.
5. Otos, Ottoes, Octolactos.
6. Maha. Mahaws. Maia. Yucatan.
7. Ponzar.
8. Kanzes.

β. Panis, Panias:

1. Ricaras.
2. Panis-Mahaws, Panimachas.
3. Pania-pique.
4. Tawakenoes.
5. Tancards.

ε. In the territories of the Red River:

α. Caddos, Caddoques, Cadodaquioux.

1. Nentego, Nentico, Nantico, Nanticokes, Nandakoes, *(Water-people.)*
2. Nabadaches.
3. Inies, Tachies.
4. Yattasees.
5. Adaize, Adayes.
6. Nacogdoches.
7. Keychies, Keyes.
8. Natchitoches.
9. Tunicas.

β. Bedies.
γ. Aliche, Eyeish.
δ. Accocesaws.
ε. Mayes.
ζ. Cances.
η. Carancouas.
θ. Attacapas.
ι. Appalousa.
κ. Chactoos.
λ. Washash.

C. Territories on the EAST side of the Mississippi, to the Ohio and the Great Lakes:

a. Nations and dialects next eastward of the mouths of the Mississippi and in Florida.

1. On the island Malhado—
   α. Caoques.
   β. Han.
2. On the continent—
   α. Choriuco.
   β. Doguenes.
   γ. Mendica.

δ. Quevenes
ε. Mariames.
ζ. Gualsiones.
η. Yguaces.
ϑ. Atayos.
ι. Acubadaos.
κ. Quitoles.
λ. Avavares.
μ. Muliacones.
ν. Cutalchiches.
ξ. Susolas.
ο. Comos.
π. Camoles.

3. Nations, which have emigrated from the *East* side of Mississippi to the *West* side :
α. Pacanas.
β. Pascagolas, (Pachea-ogoulas).
γ. Boluxas.
δ. Appalachi. Wapanachki.*
ε. Natchez. Natùxéz.
ζ. Tunicas. } almost extinct.
η. Pochatans. }
4. At St Augustine, on the east side— Timuaca.

b Tschikasah (Chikkasaw) and kindred dialects—
1. Muskohge, Creeks, Muskogulgen-Creek. Nations of the Muskohge-union—
α. Caouittas, Cawittas.
β. Conshacs.
γ. Oakmulgees.
δ. Alibamous, Alibamis.
ε. Taensas.
ζ. Yasows.
η. Conchattas.
ϑ. Abeikas.
ι. Stincards.
κ. Uches, Savannucas.
λ. Seminoles.
2. Tschikasah, Chìkkasaw (Chicachas) Mowill, Mobilians, Mobil-language.
α. Chatchi-Oumas. Chetimachas?
β. Oufé-Ogulas.
γ. Tapoussas.
δ. Coroas.

* More frequently called by us, *Abenaki*, i. e. Men of the East. Rev

ε. Yazoux.
ζ. Grigras.
η. Thioux.

3. Tschaktahs, Chaktaws, Chatkas, Catawbas.
4. Tschelokis, *also falsely called* Cheerake, Cheraquis, Tscherlocky, Tschirokesen.*

c. Woccons.

d. Katahba.

1. Wataree.
2. Eeno.
3. Chawah, Chowan.
4. Langgaree.
5. Nachee.
6. Yamasee,
7. Coosah.

e. The Six Nations; called by themselves Ongwe-honwe, (greater than all others), also Aquanoshioni, Aquanuschionig or Konungzi Oniga (united nations); called by the *Dutch*, Maquaica, Maquas, Mengwe, Mingus; by the *French*, Iroquois.

1. Senekas. Tsonontouas. Mächachtini (inhabitants of of the hills.
2. Mohawks. Sankhicanni.
   Cochnewagoes, Cochnewaga, Cahnuaga.
3. Onondagos, Onontagues.
4. Oneidas, Oniadas, Oneyouts.
   W'tassone.
5. Cayugas, Goyogans. Queùgue.
6. Tuscaroras.
   Here belong further,
7. Canai; called by the English Canais, Conois, Conoys, Canaways, Kanhawas, Canawese.
8. Nanticokes.
9. Ahouandate; called by the English, Wyandots, Wyondots: by the French, Guyandots, or more commonly Hurons.

* We presume the learned author here follows the authority of the *Historical Transactions &c. of the American Philosophical Society*, where this name is written *Chelokees*, upon the pronuciation of some natives. But we have been informed by an *educated* native, who writes his own and our language well, that the *first* syllable of the name is not our *ch* but *ts*, *Tselokee*, or (as we should express it more exactly by our English alphabet) TSUH-LUH-KEE′; sounding the letter *u* as in *but*, and strongly accenting the last syllable. It is accordingly so sounded in the TSVLVKI SQCLVCLV, or *Cherokee Spelling Book*, lately published by the Rev. D. S. Butrick, the missionary, and his associate, D. Brown, the educated native to whom we have above alluded. REV.

10. Hochelaga.
11. Mynckussar, Mynqueser.
12. Erigas.
13. Wanat.
14. Cochnowagoes.

D. The northern territories of the east side and to Hudson's Bay, above and below the Great Lakes towards the great western chain of mountains.

Chippeway-Delaware, or Algonkin-Mohegan stock, in Virginia:

a. Southern branches—

1. Pampticoughs.
2. Shawanos, Sawanno, Shawnee (Shawaneu, south country.)
3. Kickapoos, Oucahipoes.
4. Miamis, or Twightwees.

α. Ouyatonons.

β. Illinois.

aa. Kaskaskias.
bb. Cahokias.
cc. Piorias.
dd. Kasquias.
ee. Mitchigamies.
ff. Piankashaws, Piankichas.
gg. Kikapoos.
hh. Poteouatamies, Pottawatameh, Pattawattomi.
ii. Outaouas.
kk. Chaûnis.

b. Northern branches—

1. Delaware, and its nearest stocks:

α. Delaware, Lenni-Lenape (original people), Lennopea.

aa. Unâmis, Wanami, Turtle.
bb. Unalachtgo, Unalachtigo, Wunalachtigo, Turkey.
cc. Minsi, Ministi, Monsi, Munseyis, Monsonies.

β. New Sweden, now New Jersey—
Sankikani.

2. Narraganset—

α. Pequittoog.
β. Nanhigganeuk.
γ. Massachuseuk, Massachusett.
δ. Cawasumseuk,

ε. Cowweseuk, Cowweset.
ζ. Quintikòok,
η. Qunnipieuk.
ϑ. Pawkunnawkut.
ι. Pawtuket, Nechesangett.
κ. Neepmuck.

3. Natik, Nadik, Nianticks.
4. Abenaquis, Abenakis, Apenaki, Openagi; corrupted from Wapanachki, *Eastlanders.*
   α. Canibas Kennebek.
   β. Etchemines, Malécites.
   γ. Gaspesians.
   δ. Missiassik.
   ε. Arosaguntakûk.
5. Mahikanni, Mankikani; called by the Dutch, Makikanders; by the French, Mourigans, Mahingans, Manhikans; by the English, Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Mahegans, Mohegans, Muheekanew, Schatikooks; River-Indians. The same with the *Pequots.*
   α. Much-quauh.
   β. Mech-cha-ooh.
   γ. Toon-pa-oh.
6. Penobscot Indians.
7. Estechemines, Etechemines:
8. Micmak.
9. Souriquois.

C. Middle main branch, to the north of the foregoing:

1. Algonkins.
   α. Acadia.
      aa. Abenaki.
      bb. Openango.
      cc. Soccoki.
   β. Along the river St. Lawrence to Montreal:
      aa. Papinachoi.
      bb. Montanaro.
      cc. Abenaki di Sillery.
   γ. On lake Huron:
      aa. Nocke
      bb. Altikamek.
      cc. Outepoue.
   δ. Between the Mississippi, Michigan, and Lake Erie:
      aa. Oumami.
      bb. Makouten.
      cc. Outagami.

dd. Malomimi.
ee. Poüteoüatami.
ff. Ojatinon.
gg. Saki.

ε. On lake Ontario:
aa. Tsonontoüan.
bb. Goyoguan.
cc. Onnotague.
dd. Onnoyoute.

ζ. In the neighbourhood of the Oütouas rivers
aa. Machakandibi.
bb. Nopemen d'Achirini.
cc. Nepisirini.
dd. Temiskamink.

η. On the north of the Mississippi to the upper lakes and Hudson's Bay:
aa. Assimpoüal.
bb. Sonkaskiton.
cc. Ouadbaton.
dd. Atinton.

2. Chippeways.
α. Chippeways on the south of the upper lakes:
β. Crees.
γ. Nepesangs.
δ. Algonkins, on the lake of the two mountains.
ε. Ottoways, Ottawas, or, as they call themselves, *Wtáwas.*
ζ. Iroquois-Chippeways.
η. Muskonongs.
ϑ. Messisaugers, Messisagues.

3. Knistenaux, Chnisteneaux, Christeneaux, Clisteno.
α. Nehethawa, Nehetwa.
β. Skoffie.
γ. Sketapushoish.
δ. Matassins.

d. North-western branches;
Chepewyan.
1. Nagailer.
2. Slua-cuss-dinais.
3. Neguia-dinais.
4. Nasrad-denee.
5. Beaver-Indians.
6. Stone Indians.
7. Satsees.
8. Hudson's Bay.

E. The northerly coasts of Greenland and Labrador to Behring's Straight, and from the peninsula of Alaksa to Prince Williams Sound:
Eskimo stock. Karalit.

a. Eastern side:
1. Greenland.
2. Labrador, Eskimo.
3. North coast of Hudson's Bay.
4. Humoky dialect.

b. Western side:
1. Inhabitants of Prince Williams Sound.
2. Tschugazzi.
3. Konägen, in Kadjak.
4. Norton Sound.
5. Sedentary Tschuktschi.
6. Jakutat.'

Such is the outline of the vast work now in contemplation! And we have been led to bestow the more pages upon it, from an earnest desire to incite our countrymen to exertion, in the new and extensive field of literary inquiry, which is now opening in our own continent. In the American languages we have a subject full of interest to the philosophical inquirer, peculiarly our own, and in respect to which the learned of Europe are eager to obtain all possible information. How mortifying is the reflection of our learned countryman, Mr Du Ponceau, that we Americans must go 'to the universities of Europe,' to the 'Germans and Russians our masters,' for almost all that we know respecting the languages of our own continent! Will it be asked, why we should study these languages? Not for the *literature* contained in them, it is true; but with a view to the *philosophy of language*, as we have remarked more at large in a former number of our work.*

We cannot close this article without making one reflection, which has often occurred to us, and is now called up again by the present work. How is it that the distinguished statesmen and other public men in Europe, are able, amidst the cares of their official duties, to produce works of such vast labor as we daily see coming from their hands? The learned author of the present work now bears the title of *counsellor of state* of the Russian empire. Baron *Humboldt*, to whose work on the primitive language of Spain we have alluded above, was for a long

* N. A. Review, vol. xi, p. 103. Review of Dr Jarvis' Discourse.

time Prussian ambassador at Rome, and is now a cabinet minister. And yet these two distinguished public men have been able to present to the republic of letters works which we should expect from none but professed literary men, and which would seem to require the leisure and labor of a professor in his closet. How is it too, that in England, our 'magna parens,' Mr Fox (to take one example for many) was able to discuss nice questions respecting the Greek metres with a professed scholar, like Gilbert Wakefield. And how is it, that we have nothing of this kind from our own public men? Is it because of any inferiority in native powers of intellect? We trust not; for the foreign nations, who are acquainted with us, have done us ample justice in that respect. Is it then, in consequence of the imperfections in our *education?* We leave the answer to our intelligent and candid readers.

ART. X.—*Memoirs of the life of the Right Honorable William Pitt. By George Tomline, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Winchester, and prelate of the most noble order of the Garter.* Philadelphia, 1821. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 916. *J. Lyman*

DR TOMLINE, formerly known by the name of Prettyman, is not without his own reputation and dignities. His theological works, however, we believe, are thought to display more industry of compilation and purity of composition, than either uncommon intellect or much originality of investigation. He has already enjoyed the rare fortune and distinction of having filled two or three rich bishoprics in the church of England. Nevertheless, we account it the most remarkable circumstance in his life, and one to which he is probably indebted in part for the preferments we have just recorded, that he was the private tutor of William Pitt, and had the management of his education at the university; that for some time he acted as his confidential secretary, and at all times maintained an uninterrupted intercourse with him, in all matters connected with his official situation; that he was favored and honored by a constant and unreserved friendship with that eminent individual to the hour of his death, at which time he was present and administered to him with his own hand the last offices for the dying; and finally, that he was appointed one of his execu-

tors, and in that capacity had access to all his papers. We cannot, however, in conscience, compliment Dr Tomline, on having very successfully employed the advantages with which he has himself acquainted us. We cannot, it is true, estimate the industry and intelligence with which the right reverend biographer has examined the papers of Mr Pitt; but we are able to judge of the degree of knowledge, which he possesses of the motives and causes of that statesman's public acts, and of the secret but bewitching history attending all negotiations, both foreign and domestic. We speak now only of those private and often trifling facts and circumstances, which constitute what may be called, the train of public events, which are set down in the green-room for the direction of the players, whispered in cabinets, or to confidential secretaries, but which a minister does not open with his budget, nor insert in the protocols of his treaties. These are the paragraphs after which readers now hunt with the keenest avidity; these form the plot, the romance of public life, and in dexterous hands would make the history of every warrior or statesman another 'Kenilworth,' or 'Memoirs of a Cavalier.' But of these details there is a most unhappy and pitiful want in the memoirs by Dr Tomline, a want which we cannot feel to be altogether justified by the remark of the distinguished prelate, that in writing the history of so recent a period, he has felt it incumbent on him to suppress many circumstances and anecdotes of a private nature.

But above all, we are bound to complain of the utter neglect of the papers of Mr Pitt. An individual, who had been *premier* of Great Britain for more than a score of years, and whose daily occupations during all that time were with the concerns of millions of people, must have abounded in portfolios containing the most curious letters and documents of which the publication at this time could put in jeopardy neither persons nor nations; more especially as we find that many families in England, such as the Sydney, the Harrington, the Grantham, and others of less note, who may perhaps have once furnished an ambassador at a foreign court, or minister to the cabinet, now possess valuable collections of papers. But Dr Tomline has thought proper to withhold every such paper, with the exception of a few private letters from the king; and the exquisite charm of those letters does but heighten our regrets, for the numerous compositions of a dip-

lomatic nature, which must have existed in the same archives. In short, we can look upon these memoirs in no other light than as a pleasing compilation, composed in an easy and intelligible style and manner, and though we do not profess to have gone through the comparison with perfect accuracy, we are, nevertheless, justified in making the remark, with some degree of confidence, that every fact and anecdote of much importance in this work may be found in the Parliamentary History, the Political life of William Pitt, by John Gifford, (which we are far from mentioning in the way of commendation,) and in the Speeches of Mr Pitt, collected by Hathaway, of which the third edition was published as early as 1817; speeches from which those reported by Dr Tomline have been, in many instances, copied word for word, and in all have stood as the basis of his reports. At the same time we consider these memoirs as amusing and instructive, and we earnestly recommend them to all who feel a curiosity about political matters, or who partake with us in a sentiment of highest admiration for the memory of Pitt.

We cannot better employ this period of political tranquillity, than in presenting a rapid sketch of a few of the principal occurrences of Mr Pitt's life. His memoirs can now be read and his conduct estimated without prejudice, for the great measures of which he was the author, and which were adapted to the peculiar state of things in which he lived, have passed away beyond the reach and control of the present age. The age of Mr Pitt expired at the battle of Waterloo, and the statesmen and warriors who survived that battle, may regard his administration as a most brilliant episode, but as by no means belonging to the regular series and accustomed policy of British administrations. We, therefore, may consider ourselves almost in the light of a distant posterity of that generation, in which Mr Pitt lived, and we may examine and deliberate upon his measures with the same fairness and candor, with which we should discuss those of the earl of Clarendon or sir Robert Walpole.

In a review of a work of this nature we are necessarily obliged to exercise a great degree of forbearance, and to make a selection of those topics, which we think will be especially interesting. But it is not our intention to enter into any discussion on any of these topics; for we feel no disposition to take a share in the politics and prejudices which prevail in

Great Britain, nor do we believe that the readers of this journal would feel much indebted to us for encumbering our pages with dissertations, which have appeared long ago in much greater relief, upon the pages of foreign journals.

We shall begin with an account of Mr Pitt's birth and education, which we cannot too much regret or complain, should have been touched upon by Dr Tomline in a manner so brief and unsatisfactory. In the outset we again enter our protest, solemnly and sincerely, against such a hasty and arbitrary course as is pursued in this part of the biography, nor can we account it just to the memory of Mr Pitt, just to the natural and strong curiosity which the world most reasonably entertains, that his own private tutor, having enjoyed all those advantages, of which he makes a boast in the preface, and having already had fourteen years of preparation, should have undertaken to despatch the whole history of the early life of the son of lord Chatham, and of the minister of Great Britain at the age of twenty-five and for seventeen successive years,—in fifteen loosely printed octavo pages. According to this scale, men of common note would give but little trouble indeed to biographers and printers. We really think that this ignorance of Dr Tomline, or this indifference to the eager and rational curiosity of the world, merits the reprehension of all those, who have an opportunity of expressing their opinions publicly.

William Pitt was the second son of the first earl Chatham and of lady Hester, only daughter of Richard Grenville. He was born at Hayes, in Kent, the 28th of May, 1759. His mother is said to have been a woman of great strength of mind, of a most improved understanding, and of highly polished manners. Of the other two sons, the eldest, the present earl Chatham, was some years since much known as having been the leader of the Walcheren expedition; the younger, James Pitt, died at an early age in the West Indies, as a captain in the British navy. Of the two daughters, the eldest was married in 1774 to lord Mahon, and the youngest to Edward James Eliot, son of lord Eliot, in 1785. William Pitt, from the age of six to fourteen, was educated in his father's house, under the care of Dr Wilson. Notwithstanding great delicacy of health and constitution, he made a remarkable progress in his studies, and in the spring of 1773, he was sent by his father, who had resolved to devote him to the bar, to Pembroke Hall, in

Cambridge, in order to finish his education. On account of Mr Pitt's tender age and unconfirmed health, and his former private habits of education, Mr Wilson continued to live with him for several weeks in the same college apartment; but his studies were solely under the direction of the public tutors, who, according to a desire expressed by lord Chatham, devoted each one hour every day to his son. Mr Pitt's knowledge at this early age appears to have been very great, particularly in Greek and Latin. The only books, which lord Chatham expressed a desire his son should read, were Polybius and Thucydides. He had also read at this time the first six books of Euclid's elements, plane trigonometry, the elementary parts of algebra, and the two quarto volumes of Rutherforth's natural philosophy. Lord Chatham himself was in the habit of bestowing much time upon the education of his children, and seldom passed a day without reading a chapter in the bible to them. About this time Mr Pitt was attacked with so severe and protracted an illness, that he was able to reside only a short time at Cambridge, during the first three years; and the preservation of his life is justly to be ascribed to his extraordinary attention to diet and exercise, and to the unremitted and affectionate watchfulness of his family and friends. In consequence of this illness, he was prevented from taking the degree of bachelor in course, and was therefore admitted in the spring of 1776 to the degee of master of arts, to which he was entitled by his birth.

'While Mr Pitt,' says his biographer, 'was undergraduate, he never omitted attending chapel morning and evening, or dining in the public hall, except when prevented by indisposition. Nor did he pass a single evening out of the college walls. Indeed most of his time was spent with me; and exclusively of the satisfaction I had in superintending the education of a young man of his uncommon abilities and thirst for improvement, his sweetness of temper and vivacity of disposition endeared him to me in a degree which I should in vain attempt to express.'

It was Dr Tomline's rule to read with Mr Pitt alternately classics and mathematics, occasionally introducing other branches of learning, and there was scarcely a Greek or Latin classic of any eminence, whose works Mr Pitt and Dr Tomline did not read together. It was his habit and peculiar delight to compare the speeches delivered upon opposite sides of a question, and for this purpose he gave the preference to

Livy, Sallust, and Thucydides. 'And I believe it may be said with the strictest truth, that no one ever read the Greek language, even after devoting his whole life to the study of it, with greater facility than Mr Pitt did at the age of twenty-one.' It is not worth while to make any remarks about this expression of Dr Tomline, although we consider it as a most unguarded one. The world, we believe, has already acquired just notions concerning the early miraculous proficiency of men who turn out to be extraordinary, and scholars skilled in the study of the Greek language, and acquainted with the progress which individuals, probably endowed with a much higher degree of talent for the acquisition of languages than Mr Pitt possessed, have made in that most copious and most difficult tongue, will be able to attribute a proper portion of this expression to the honest partialities of the reverend author.

Mr Pitt was also very successful in his mathematical and philosophical studies, and he appears to have had a great fondness for the abstruse sciences. When about to leave Dr Tomline, he expressed a hope that he should at some future time find leisure to read Newton's Principia, and in the last period of his life he often declared, that he had never employed his time more profitably than in those studies. Mr Pitt was not fond of composition, though he possessed an 'elegant taste' for the beauties of the English poets, and occasionally in his youth wrote verses. He considered Middleton's life of Cicero, the political and historical works of lord Bolingbroke, and the writings of Hume and Robertson, as excellent models; but he could never be brought to admire Johnson's style, and much less that of Gibbon. Lord Chatham recommended to him Barrow's sermons, as particularly useful in furnishing a copiousness of language. It seems also that Mr Pitt was exceeding fond of Locke's essay on the human understanding, of which he made a complete analysis. Finally, Dr Tomline declares that no young man was ever more admired and beloved, or more studiously avoided every species of irregularity, notwithstanding his society was greatly sought after; and that from the age of seventeen he constantly passed his evenings in company. 'At this early period there was the same firmness of principle and rectitude, which marked his character more in the advanced stages of life.'

But if there is any thing touching and interesting in the

short life, of which we have just made a rapid abridgment, it is to be found in the sensible and affectionate letters of lord and lady Chatham to their son, William Pitt; and if there is any thing which ought to make the memory of that truly great man more beloved and revered than it already is, it is the natural and unaffected solicitude for the health, welfare, and good conduct of his son, every where displayed in these letters, as well as the high and delightful hopes which he had already the discernment to form of his child's promise and prospects. Dr Tomline has contented himself with informing us, in a single sentence, that both lord and lady Chatham bestowed infinite pains upon the education of William, as well as of all their children. This brevity we again regret, and we regret also most deeply, that he has been able to insert only five of those charming letters, from which we shall shortly give a few extracts, and which, in our poor opinion, are worth as many volumes of political histories and discussions. Indeed, it has been long matter of common notoriety, that the parents, particularly the mother, watched over the health and education of the son with the utmost care and perseverance, and we recollect to have heard an anecdote, which will in some degree illustrate the truth of the remark. Lord Chatham being engaged one day with a gentleman upon official business, William, then about thirteen years old, came into the room with a long copy of verses, requesting him to look at and correct them: 'go away now,' said the father, 'I am engaged; take them to your mother, and beg her to look over them for you.'

The following extracts are taken from a letter, dated Burton Pynsent, Oct. 9, 1773, to Mr Pitt upon his going to the university:

'*Burton Pynsent, Oct.* 9, 1773.

'Thursday's post brought us no letter from the dear traveller: we trust this day will prove more satisfactory; it is the happy day that gave us your brother, and will not be less in favor with all here, if it should give us, about four o'clock, an epistle from my dear William. By that hour, I reckon, we shall be warm in our cups, and shall not fail to pour forth, with renewed joy, grateful libations over the much wished tidings of your prosperous progress towards your destination. We compute, that yesterday brought you to the venerable aspect of alma mater; and that you are invested to day with the toga virilis. Your race of *manly* virtue and *useful* knowledge is now begun, and may the favor of heaven smile upon the noble career.

'Little —— was really disappointed at not being in time to see you—a good mark for my young vivid friend. He is just as much compounded of the elements of *air* and *fire* as he was. A due proportion of terrestrial solidity will, I trust, come, and make him perfect. How happy, my loved boy, is it, that your mama and I can tell ourselves, there is at Cambridge *one*, without a beard, "and all the elements so mixed in him, that nature might stand up, and say, this is a man." I now take leave for today, not meaning this for what James calls a *regular* letter, but a flying thought, that wings itself towards my absent William. Horses are ready and all is birth-day.'

To this interesting letter lady Chatham added the following postcript:

'If more could be said expressive of feelings, my dearest boy, I would add a letter to this epistle, but as it is composed, I will only sign to its expressive contents,

'Your fond and loving mother,

HESTER CHATHAM.'

The first of the following letters was written by lord Chatham to Mr Pitt, when he was recovering from his illness which has been mentioned.

'*Burton Pynsent, Oct.* 30, 1773.

'With what ease of mind and joy of heart I write to my loved William, since Mr Wilson's comfortable letter of Monday! I do not mean to address you as a sick man: I trust in heaven, that *convalescent* is the only title I am to give you in the ailing tribe; and that you are now enjoying the happy advantage of Dr Glynn's acquaintance, as one of the cheerful and witty sons of Apollo, in his poetic, not his medical attribute. But though I indulge with inexpressible delight the thought of your returning health, I cannot help being a little in pain, lest you should *make more haste than good speed* to be well. Your mama has been before me, in suggesting that most useful proverb, *reculer pour mieux sauter*, useful to all, but to the ardent, *necessary*. You may indeed, my sweet boy, better than any one, practise this sage dictum, without any risque of being *thrown out* (as little James would say) in the *chase of learning*. All you want at present, is *quiet*; with this, if your ardor ἀριστεύειν can be *kept in*, till you are stronger, you will make *noise* enough.'

'*Hayes, Sept.* 2, 1774.

'I write, my dearest William, the post just going out, only to thank you for your most welcome letter, and for the affectionate anxiety you express for my situation, left behind in the hospital, when our flying camp moved to Stowe. Gout has for the present

subsided, and seems to intend deferring his favors till winter, if autumn will do its duty and bless us with a course of steady weather; those days, which Madame de Sévigné so beautifully paints, *des jours filés d'or et de soye.*

'I have the pleasure to tell you, your mother and sisters returned perfectly well from Bucks, warm in praises of magnificent and princely Stowe; and full of due sentiments of the agreeable and kind reception they found there. No less than two dancings, in the short time they passed there. One escape from a wasp's nest, which proved only an adventure to talk of, by the incomparable skill and presence of mind of Mr Cotton, driving our girls in his carriage with four very fine horses, and no postillion. They fell into an *ambuscade* of wasps more fierce than *Pandours*, who beset these coursers of spirit, not inferior to *Xanthus* and *Podarges*, and stung them to madness; when disdaining the master's hand, he turned them short into a hedge, threw some of them, as he meant to do; and leaping down, seized the bridles of the leaders, which afforded time for your sisters to get out safe and sound, their honor, in point of courage, intact, as well as their bones; for they are celebrated not a little on their composure in this alarming situation.'

'My readers will be sorry to learn, that the following is the last letter of lord Chatham, which I am able to submit to their perusal; it was written only seven or eight months before his death.'

'*Hayes, Sept.* 22, 1777.

'How can I employ my reviving pen so well as by addressing a few lines to the *hope* and *comfort* of my life, my dear William? You will have pleasure to see, under my own hand, that I mend every day, and that I am all but well. I have been this morning to Camden-place, and sustained, most manfully, a visit, and all the idle talk thereof, for above an hour by Mr Norman's clock; and returned home, untired, to dinner, where I eat like a farmer. Lord Mahon has confounded, not convinced, the incorrigible *soi-disant* Dr Wilson. Dr Franklin's lightning, rebel as he is, stands proved the more innocent; and Wilson's nobs must yield to the pointed conductors. On Friday, lord Mahon's indefatigable spirit is to exhibit another incendium, to lord Mayor, foreign ministers, and all lovers of philosophy and the good of society; and means to illuminate the horizon with a little bonfire of twelve hundred fagots and a double edifice. Had our dear friend been born sooner, Nero and the second Charles could never have amused themselves by reducing to ashes the two noblest cities in the world. My hand begins to demand repose;—so, with my best compliments to Aristotle, Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, not forgetting the civilians, and law of nations tribe, adieu, my dearest William. Your ever most affectionate father,

'Chatham.'

But it is time to hasten to Mr Pitt's first appearance in parliament. This event was remarkable on two accounts; it was the first setting forth of a man who was in a short time, and for a long time, so eminent and powerful, and it was also the first appearance of one who not only equalled, but even surpassed the expectations, extravagant as they certainly were, which were entertained concerning him. The great success and reputation of lord Chatham's administration, and his wonderful intellect and commanding personal qualities had prepared for that son, whose careful education and great talents were well known, an elevated and spacious niche in the anticipations of the public. It was also well known that lord Chatham had regarded his second son from his tenderest years as that child, above all others, who was destined to preserve and magnify the name of that 'terrible cornet of horse,' whom sir Robert Walpole was so desirous to 'muzzle.'

Lord Chatham, having been a minister and a statesman, was perfectly acquainted with the manner of education most useful for his son to receive; and he had fidelity, perseverance, and paternal affection enough to bestow himself, or procure for his child that political and historical knowledge, and accustom him to those habits of reflection and reasoning, of which the value was instantly felt, and for which, so great an usury was so soon rendered. These were the advantages which William Pitt the younger possessed; and accordingly, we observe him upon his entrance into the house of commons at the age of twenty-two, stepping at once upon that broad and firm pedestal, which these circumstances had prepared for him, and in his first essay speaking with the ease, confidence, dignity, and presence of mind of a statesman, who had been declaiming for fifty years, 'nailed to the north wall of opposition,' for it was there that Mr Pitt began. His first speech was made upon Mr Burke's bill for reform in the civil list. Dr Tomline declares that Mr Pitt did not intend to speak, but some gentlemen calling out, as is the custom in the house of commons, the name of Mr Pitt at the conclusion of lord Nugent's speech, and the house evidently waiting to receive him, he thought it necessary to rise. Dr Tomline remarks, that 'from the beginning he was collected and unembarrassed. Never were higher expectations more completely answered; such was the fluency and accuracy of his language, such the perspicuity of arrangement, and such the closeness

of reasoning and manly and dignified elocution.' The next day Mr Pitt wrote to Dr Tomline to inform him that he had heard his own voice in the house of commons, and expressed, in a modest way, his satisfaction at the manner in which he had been received. We also find, in the parliamentary history for the year 1781, the following notice of Mr Pitt's first speech, a notice the more valuable, as it was probably written the evening the speech was delivered.

'The honorable *William Pitt*, son to the late earl of Chatham, now rose for the first time, and in a speech directly in answer to matter that had fallen out in the course of the debate, displayed great and astonishing powers of eloquence. His voice is rich and striking, full of melody and force; his manner easy and elegant; his language beautiful and luxuriant. He gave in his first essay a specimen of eloquence not unworthy the son of his immortal parent.'

Mr Pitt made three speeches this session of parliament, and upon a division he was each time in a small minority. These speeches are reported at length in the parliamentary history, and the two first in Hathaway. His last speech was made on the 12th of June, on a motion of Mr Fox, 'that the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the present state of the American war.' In this speech, he took occasion to express the opinion held by himself concerning the American war. We shall give an extract from this speech, in order to furnish evidence, that the people of this country are not less indebted to Mr Pitt, as far as opinions were concerned, than to his great father.

'A noble lord, who spoke early in the heat of his zeal, had called it an holy war. For his part, though the honorable gentleman who made the motion, and some other gentlemen had been more than once in the course of the debate severely reprehended for calling it a wicked and accursed war, he was persuaded and would affirm, that it was an accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war. It was conceived in injustice, it was nurtured and brought forth in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, slaughter, persecution and devastation; in truth, every thing which went to constitute moral depravity and human turpitude were to be found in it.'

It is difficult to judge of these speeches beyond what relates to the course of argument and thought, as the speeches of the debates in which Mr Pitt took a part are evidently all reported

by the same hand, and there is, therefore, a great uniformity of expression and style. It would be idle, we think, to say that these speeches, as they stand in the book, are remarkable other than as the productions of a very young man; on the contrary, we think that that uniform, monotonous, and often heavy manner and habit of excessive dilating, which in later life emphatically marked Mr Pitt's oratorical compositions, were already quite conspicuous. At the same time, they are most remarkable in another way, which is, that throughout there is manifested the most genuine dignity and self-respect, the most perfect simplicity, and presence of mind, but not a sentence or a syllable, which savours of vanity, presumption, or hardihood. We can easily conceive the delight and admiration with which the British house of commons was inspired, in beholding the son of lord Chatham, scarcely twenty-three years of age, stand up in the midst of those experienced and distinguished statesmen, without dismay or concern, and acquit himself with a dignity, modesty, and success so entirely astonishing and praiseworthy, as to call forth from Mr. Dundas, at that time opposed to him, the following remarkable panegyric, pronounced in the presence of the whole house; 'I must declare, that I find myself impelled to rejoice in the good fortune of my country, and my fellow subjects, who are destined at some future day to derive the most important services from so happy an union of first rate abilities, high integrity, bold and honest independency of conduct, and the most persausive eloquence.'

With respect to the manner in which Mr Pitt obtained his first seat in parliament, he failed in the general election of 1780, as a candidate to represent the university of Cambridge, but he was immediately after returned for the borough of Appleby, by the interest of sir James Lowther, and at the request of the duke of Rutland;—a nobleman who always manifested a great friendship for Mr Pitt, and at his death in 1787, appointed Mr Pitt one of the guardians of his children, and trustee of his estate with a legacy of £3000. It is a curious but well known fact, that Mr Pitt's father also received a legacy of £10,000 from Sarah, the celebrated dutchess of Marlborough, on account of 'the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England and to prevent the ruin of his country.' Before entering into parliament, Mr Pitt became a resident of Lincoln's inn in the spring of 1780,

and was called to the bar and went the western circuit the summer of the same year. The summer of 1781 he again went a circuit, and as his professional engagements were at that time brought to a close, we beg leave to recommend to the attention of the reader the following note, copied from the work before us.

'When he first made his brilliant display in parliament, those at the bar, who had seen little of him, expressed surprise; but a few who had heard him once speak in a sort of mock debate at the Crown and Anchor tavern, when a club, called the Western Circuit Club, was dissolved, agreed that he had then displayed all the various species of eloquence, for which he was afterwards celebrated. Before he distinguished himself in the house of commons, he certainly looked seriously to the law as a profession. The late Mr Justice Rooke told me, that Mr Pitt dangled seven days with a junior brief and a single guinea fee, waiting till a cause of no sort of importance should come on in the court of common pleas. At Mr Pitt's instance, an annual dinner took place for some years at Richmond hill, the party consisting of lord Erskine, lord Redesdale, sir William Grant, Mr Bond, Mr Leycester, Mr Jekyll, and others; and I well remember a dinner with Mr Pitt and several of his private friends at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap, in celebration of Shakspeare's Falstaff. We were all in high spirits, quoting and alluding to Shakspeare the whole day; and it appeared that Mr Pitt was as well and familiarly read in the poet's works as the best Shakspearians present. But to speak of his conviviality is needless. After he was minister, he continued to ask his old circuit intimates to dine with him, and his manners were unaltered.'

Parliament met again on the 27th November. Mr Pitt spoke for the first time upon the report of the address in answer to his majesty's speech. He spoke with great warmth against the continuance of the American war, which fruitlessly wasted the blood and treasure of the kingdom, and he also delivered himself in terms of strong censure of those ministers, 'who by their fatal system had led the country to a situation which threatened the final dissolution of the empire, if not prevented by timely, wise, and vigorous efforts.' This speech was received with high applause in the house of commons. The reader of those debates will observe, that most extravagant compliments were paid to Mr Pitt on that occasion by Mr Fox, but particularly by Mr Dundas. We cannot but here observe, that the habit of offering exaggerated and un-

meaning commendation to talents and learning has been long practised in the house of commons, and abounds especially with those who are politically opposed, and whose measures are at the same time subject of violent, and to our feelings unbecoming crimination and condemnation. Neither of these habits is to be observed in the same degree, in the debates of the American congress. Part of this difference may be accounted for, from the circumstance, that as the government has no representative, no minister in either branch of congress, the principal cause and stimulant of personal censure or compliment does not exist; for one naturally leads to the other. Mr Fox, after striving to demonstrate for two hours, with every species of vehement declamation, that Mr Pitt, in his public capacity, was either an idiot, or knave, or madman, would express himself at the close of his harangue concerning the endowments, the accomplishments, and the private virtues of that gentleman, with such a gentleness, sweetness, sincerity, force, and persuasion, as to remind us of the most splendid panegyrics of classic literature, or of the melodious strains of classic mythology. In the particular case of Mr Pitt, we have somewhere read the insinuation, that Mr Dundas, discovering at once the great talents of that individual, and foreseeing the power he was likely to possess in the country, had early taken his precautions to conciliate the favorable opinion of Mr Pitt, and to prepare himself to enter into any league, which circumstances might make advantageous. The sagacity and prudence of the northern statesman were, in this instance, well rewarded, for he clung to the treasury bench with Mr Pitt till 1801, and as a token of his private friendship it has always been said, that no man had the honor of emptying so many bottles of old port with the chancellor, as the lord advocate.

In this parliament Mr Pitt took a conspicuous part in eight vehement, protracted, and most important debates, all in relation to the state of the nation, and having an immediate tendency to change the course of measures, and voted in four desperate minorities, and in several encouraging ones, till at last on the 20th of March 1782, lord North declared in the house of commons, 'that his majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers.' The 28th of the same month it was announced to the house, that a new administration had been formed, at the head of which was placed the marquis of Rockingham, the only marquis at that time in

Great Britain, as first lord commissioner of the treasury; and lord Shelburne the first marquis of Lansdowne, and Mr Fox were appointed secretaries of state. It is well established in all the histories of the day, that the minister before accepting the seals stipulated for the following condition with the king: that peace should be made with the Americans and their independence acknowledged. Various situations were offered to Mr Pitt, and among others, that of vice treasurer of Ireland, a place which his father held; but he refused to accept any situation which should pledge him to the measures of administration without giving him a seat in the cabinet.

It was another circumstance, equally favorable and fortunate for Mr Pitt's advancement, that in the very commencement of his career he should have been able to take advantage of all the popularity at that time possessed by Mr Fox and his powerful party, and should have been seconded by the zeal and ardor of the whole nation, who went heart and hand with that party in their triumph over lord North. It will be seen in the sequel, and it is another proof of Pitt's great sagacity and judgment, that he was the only person who took advantage of these auspicious circumstances.

By the death of the marquis of Rockingham in July, the administration was dissolved, and the king appointed lord Shelburne to succeed him as first lord of the treasury. We learn from the history of the times, that when lord Chatham formed a new administration in 1766, lord Shelburne was placed at the head of the department of the colonies. This office he resigned in 1768, and continued firmly and steadily in opposition to all measures connected with America, till lord North's resignation. His lordship was not accounted a man of great talents; but he possessed vast political knowledge, greatly improved by a study of foreign affairs and long experience in the ministry and legislature of his own country. Among the causes of the great aversion and hostility of the Rockingham party, 'the great body of the whigs,' to this nobleman, may be mentioned a jealousy and contention for power, a symptom of which will be discovered in the sending of Mr Oswald by lord Shelburne, and of Mr Grenville by Mr Fox at the same time to Paris, both to negotiate peace with America. At any rate, most certain it is, that when lord Shelburne's promotion took place, and when, towards the end of the autumn, Mr Pitt waited, by appointment, upon Mr Fox

to propose to him to return to office, Mr Fox observed to Mr Pitt, that it was impossible for him to belong to any administration, of which lord Shelburne was the head; upon which Mr Pitt remarked, that it would be useless for him to enter into any further discussion, 'as he did not come to betray lord Shelburne.'

Mr Pitt entered into lord Shelburne's administration as chancellor of the exchequer, when he was twenty-three years and a little more than one month old. This part of Mr Pitt's history is peculiarly interesting to us, as it relates chiefly to the peace with America. It appears from Dr Franklin's private correspondence, that on the 6th of April the Rockingham administration sent Mr Oswald to Paris, with a letter to Dr Franklin, in order to ascertain at what time and place it would be agreeable and convenient to hold conferences for a general peace. April 27th Mr Oswald again received his majesty's orders to return to Paris, to inform Dr Franklin that his majesty's government had consented to conduct the negotiations at that place. On the 1st of May, Mr Grenville, son of the author of the stamp act, left London with a letter from Mr Fox to Dr Franklin; but it appeared afterwards that he had no instructions or powers to treat with the American minister. This was supposed to be owing to a bill, called the enabling act, never having been passed; but it is exceedingly probable that Mr Grenville's commission was in some degree to ascertain the wishes and feelings of the American minister. At any rate he did nothing; and Dr Franklin does not appear to have been well satisfied with his conduct. He particularly complains of an extract, supposed to be from a letter of Mr Grenville and published in the London newspapers, speaking with exultation of a point of important information, obtained at their first interview by this gentleman. This was a copy of the treaty of America with France, which Dr Franklin declares he gave to Mr Grenville. It was however published, at the time it was concluded, in all the American newspapers, in Almon's Remembrancer, and in other well known publications, and could, therefore, be no important secret. At the formation of lord Shelburne's ministry, in July 1782, the negotiations were continued by Mr Oswald and Mr Fitzherbert, now lord St Helens, who had replaced Mr Grenville.*

* Mr Coxe, in his history of the house of Austria, vol. ii, p. 603, has thought proper to make the following remark, that Mr Fitzherbert, in talking with

On the 21st of February 1783, lord John Cavendish moved certain resolutions, expressing disapprobation of the preliminaries of the general peace. These resolutions gave rise to a most vehement and protracted debate, in which Mr Pitt greatly distinguished himself. In referring to an observation of Mr Fox, he said:

'I will at the same time imitate the honorable gentleman's candor, and confess that I too have my ambition. High situations and great influence are desirable objects to most men; and objects which I am not ashamed to pursue; which I am ever solicitous to possess, whenever they can be acquired with honor and retained with dignity. On these respectable conditions I am not less ambitious to be great and powerful, than it is natural for a young man to be, with such brilliant examples before him.'

Alluding to a material and impending change in his own condition, he exclaimed:

'Fortuna sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos Honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
Laudo mamentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit—:'

With an admirable presence of mind, which never forsook him, he here paused, and conscious that the words immediately following, '*Et mea virtute me involvo*,' might seem to imply a higher idea of his own merit or disinterestedness than it would become him to avow, he cast his eyes on the floor. A moment or two of silence elapsed, while all attention was directed towards him, from every quarter of the house. During this interval he slowly drew his handkerchief from his pocket, passed it once or twice across his lips; and recovering as it were from his temporary embarrassment, he added with emphasis, striking his hand on the table,

'———— probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.'

Mr De Vergennes, succeeded in alarming Franklin, Adams, and Jay, and prevailed on them to sign separate and provisional articles, which severed America from France. The true version, however, of this departure from the spirit of the treaty with France is, that the American commission had reason to believe the French were desirous to place restrictions upon the fisheries; an inference justly to be drawn from an intercepted letter from Mr De Marbois to Mr De Vergennes, to which archdeacon Coxe refers, though it is by no means of great extent, nor does it contain a regular and systematic plan for exciting a spirit of discord in the States.

A division took place very late in the morning, when two hundred and seven appeared against, and one hundred and ninety for ministers. They immediately declared that they should resign. The king offered the first seat of the treasury bench to Mr Pitt, and in order to allow him time to consider of that proposal, the house of commons, by a continuance of Mr Dundas' motion, adjourned for three days. This offer was repeated to Mr Pitt on the 2d of March, but he maintained great inflexibility, in resisting the wishes of the king, and perhaps in no event of his life did he manifest deeper penetration and judgment, the soundness and correctness of which were perfectly confirmed by circumstances that afterwards took place. With the feelings of the nation, at that time dejected and indignant at the treaty of peace, he could not have withstood the whole power and unsparing attacks of Mr Fox and of lord North united; a contest which, under different circumstances, he afterwards conducted with infinite skill, perseverance, and success. One of the letters of the king, relating to this matter, concluded with the following paragraph:

'I trust, therefore, Mr Pitt will exert himself tomorrow to plan his mode of filling up the offices that will be vacant, so as to be able on Wednesday morning to accept the situation his character and talents fit him to hold, when I shall be in town before twelve ready to receive him.'

To which Mr Pitt returned the following answer the same day:

'Mr Pitt received this morning the honor of your majesty's gracious commands. With infinite pain he feels himself under the necessity of humbly expressing to your majesty that, with every sentiment of dutiful attachment to your majesty, and zealous desire to contribute to the public service, it is utterly impossible for him, after the fullest consideration of the situation in which things stand, and of what passed yesterday in the house of commons, to think of undertaking, under such circumstances, the situation which your majesty has had the condescension and goodness to propose to him. As what he now presumes to write is the final result of his best reflection, he should think himself criminal if, by delaying till tomorrow, humbly to lay it before your majesty, he should be the cause of your majesty's not immediately turning your royal mind to such a plan of arrangement, as the exigency of the present circumstances may, in your majesty's wisdom, seem to require.'

One of the most important topics in a biography of Mr

Pitt is, of course, his political intercourse with Mr Fox. Mr Fox was ten years older than Mr Pitt. He obtained a family borough at the age of nineteen, and was in lord North's administration, either as lord commissioner of the admiralty or commissioner of the treasury, from 1770 to 1774. In consequence of a slight difference of opinion, concerning the manner in which I. Horne, afterwards Tooke, should be committed for a libel upon the speaker of the house of commons, it is said, that Mr Fox received from the hands of one of the messengers of the house, while actually standing in conversation with the minister, the following laconic note: 'His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name. NORTH.' About this time also began the troubles in the colonies, and as we possess secret chronicles of these matters, it remains for those who now read the histories of those times, to determine in their own minds how much Mr Fox's subsequent opposition to lord North's administration is to be attributed to personal affront and animosity. It has already been said, that Mr Pitt found Mr Fox on the opposition benches in 1781, and continued there with him for one session. The first public difference of opinion, as reported by Dr Tomline, took place in June 1782, on a bill of lord Mahon's for preventing bribery at elections. There is nothing remarkable in the speeches delivered on this occasion, as they stand in the debates of the day, except that Mr Pitt takes occasion to tell Mr Fox that he could not have read the bill. Mr Pitt, however, failed in his object, by a vote of sixty-six to forty. Dr Tomline states, in another place, that the last time they met in a private room was on the occasion of Mr Pitt's visit in relation to lord Shelburne's administration, which is properly the date of the origin of their political opposition and animosity. It is impossible not to be struck with the fact above stated from Dr Tomline, as well as with the extreme and unrespited distinction and separation of parties, and the unfailing and anxious caution, which the friends of those gentlemen must have exercised, in order to prevent the meeting of two individuals, who lived for twenty-four years in the same quarter of London, and in that class of English society which is remarkable for conviviality and hospitality.

It is not necessary to search for other reasons and motives of political enmity and hostility, or for impulses of ambition

and love of power to account for the hopeless separation of these two statesmen. A sufficient cause of it is found, in a proceeding equally famous and ridiculous in English story, the union of Mr Fox and lord North ;—that 'noble lord in the blue ribbon,' whom Mr Fox reproached and reviled, condemned, pursued, and persecuted with every epithet of ridicule, insult and provocation for seven years; whom he threatened to bring to the block, which his weak and wicked administration well deserved; and for whom one of his great political friends declared in the commons, that he kept an impeachment ready drawn in his pocket ;—of whom Mr Fox said, over and over again, in parliament, (we quote from his speeches collected and published in 1815, by I. Wright, to which the distribuatur of lord Erskine is affixed,) 'that he had carried the system of corruption to an infinitely greater extent than sir Robert Walpole,' whom he accused 'of folly, supineness, and ignorance ;' 'of madness and delusive arts,' of 'acting under the grossest and dullest ignorance ;' of having, 'from corrupt and concealed motives of some powerful criminal influence, allured the country to the verge of destruction ;' of having 'employed the most wicked means to corrupt the house, and therefore deserving of public execration and exemplary punishment ;' and of whom he declared, that 'he trusted that ministers would hear their measures censured at the tribunal of justice and expiate them on the public scaffold ;' and of whom, just twelve months before he united with him in opposition to the Shelburne administration, and six months before he formed with him the celebrated coalition, he made the following declaration in the commons : 'From the moment, when he should make any terms with one of them, he would rest satisfied to be called the most infamous of men ; he could not, for an instant, think of a coalition with men who, in every public and private transaction as ministers, had shown themselves void of every principle of honor and honesty ;—in the hands of such men he would not trust his honor even for a minute.' In this great inconsistency of Mr Fox, to which the flimsy and weak pretences and apologies of Mr Sheridan and other friends, did but add ridicule and disgrace, and for which but a feeble apology is afforded by the example of the union of sir Robert Walpole with lord Sunderland, in 1720, (a union never cordial, and under which sir Robert never acted, the only parallel to the case of Mr Fox and lord North, with which we are acquaint-

ed in English history since the revolution,) begun the avowed and irreconcilable hostility of Mr Pitt, and as truly begun the decay of the great personal popularity of Mr Fox, a popularity by which he had succeeded in overthrowing the administration of lord North. It is not, however, our purpose to bring the conduct of Mr Fox further into notice, than will be sufficient to illustrate and justify the conduct of Mr Pitt.

We left Mr Pitt declaring in the house, that after the resignation of lord Shelburne, he was ready to give up his place, the moment a successor should be appointed. From this time to the 1st of April, there was no responsible government in England. The finances became disordered; negotiations with foreign countries were at a stand; and the whole kingdom was in a state of alarm and confusion. This period is emphatically called the interregnum, and as it is without an example in the history of Great Britain, and as Mr Pitt's conduct during this perilous and anxious interval, exhibits a most remarkable degree of firmness, penetration, and judgment, we shall once more intreat our readers to pardon us, if we devote a few paragraphs to the account of this matter. On the 3d of March, the king, entertaining a great personal dislike of Mr Fox, and a strong aversion to his whole party, sent for lord North and proposed to place him at the head of the treasury. Lord North gave his majesty to understand that he was under such engagements with Mr Fox, that he could form a part of no administration, from which that gentleman should be excluded. Accordingly, on the 13th of March, the duke of Portland received powers to form an administration. This attempt also failed, owing to an unwillingness in the king to take the privy seal from lord Thurlow, a point upon which the coalition were inflexible. For this fact, we refer to the writers of the day, for here, as in every other part of Dr Tomline's work, we have to complain of a great want of private details. On the 24th of March, Mr Coke, well known in Great Britain and this country, for his splendid agricultural improvements, made a motion, of which he had given notice on the 18th. This motion at that time awakened a most general sentiment throughout Great Britain. He moved an address, praying his majesty to form an administration entitled to the confidence of the people. We may readily conceive that the commons and the people were by this time exceedingly heated with political discussions, and irritated

either at the delay manifested in forming a ministry, or at the unreasonable clamors and unpardonable inconsistency of the coalition. The debate was continued to a great length, though without much violence ;—Mr Pitt and other members of consideration, allowing that the proceeding was constitutional, and that parliament could at all times, without any breach of royal prerogative, take upon itself to advise in all matters, in which the well-being of the empire was concerned. The motion passed with only four dissenting votes. The address was presented to the king, to which he replied, that 'it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful commons.' The 31st March, lord Surrey made a motion, which had a similar tendency, but which, after a declaration from Mr Pitt that he had resigned, was withdrawn. On the 2d of April the new administration was announced ; the duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury, lord North and Mr Fox, secretaries of state.

Between the sessions of parliament, Mr Pitt went to Paris in the months of September and October with Mr Wilberforce, and his brother in law, Mr Eliot. Dr Tomline contents himself with saying, that he was received with great marks of distinction. But many things must have happened to Mr Pitt in his interviews with the court and with remarkable individuals, exceedingly curious to be known, and of which we receive no account from his biographer.

The definitive treaty of peace with this country was signed during this administration, for which purpose Mr Hartley, the old friend of Dr Franklin, was sent to Paris. This treaty hardly differed from the provisional articles, so vehemently denounced by the coalition ; and it is somewhat remarkable that Mr Hartley himself should have spoken and voted against these articles ; more especially, as he maintained a correspondence with Dr Franklin upon the subject for many months, and from the tenor of his letters we should have thought that he would have been one of the last of his majesty's subjects to object to an honorable peace with America. Mr Hartley is well known by his correspondence with Dr Franklin, and was in fact a man of great integrity and of a remarkable character. The following anecdote is related of him. He was member of parliament for Hull, and his speeches were intolerably long and intolerably dull. One day that he had exhausted the patience of all present, and had thinned the com-

mons from three hundred to eighty members, he unexpectedly moved, in order to illustrate some statements, that the riot act should be read. Burke, who sat upon the same bench, and had been bursting with impatience for several hours, having resolved to speak upon the same subject, jumped up, and with great warmth exclaimed, 'the riot act, my dear friend, the riot act, to what purpose, don't you see that the mob is completely dispersed?'

The coalition perished in the fate of the India bill, which was rejected in the lords, though on a motion in the commons, that the speaker do leave the chair, ministers had a vote of two hundred and seventeen to a hundred and three. Just before the ministry was dismised, an affair took place that created great warmth and alarm, and that deserves to be recorded amongst those events, which make this period of English history so truly memorable. Lord temple, an officer of the household of his majesty, is said to have received the following note, written in the hand of the king: 'that he should deem those who should vote for the India bill, not only not his friends, but his enemies, and if lord Temple could put this in stronger words, he had authority to do it.' In consequence of this intimation of the opinion of his father, the prince of Wales, who had before voted in the minority in the house of lords on the bill, thought fit to be absent at its third reading. The opinion of the king and the manner in which it had been communicated became public, and gave much offence, and excited great alarm in those who already regarded the prerogatives of the crown with jealousy and apprehension. The commons did not suffer this matter to pass without severe notice, and a motion of Mr Baker, containing this resolution, 'that to report any opinion, or pretended opinions of his majesty, upon any bill pending in either house of parliament, is a high crime and misdemeanor,' produced one of the most violent and stormy debates recorded in parliamentary history, and was finally accepted by a vote of a hundred and fifty-three to eighty. The king took advantage of the fate of the India bill to dismiss the ministers. At twelve o'clock on the night of the 18th of December 1784, a messenger delivered to the two secretaries an order to deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under secretaries, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to his majesty. The seals were given to lord Temple, who wrote letters of dismissal to the other cabinet ministers.

At the age of twenty-five years and seven months, Mr Pitt became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and continued in that office till 1801. Lord Thurlow, Mr Kenyon, (afterwards lord Kenyon,) Mr Grenville, (the present lord Grenville,) Mr Dundas, (afterwards lord Melville,) and George Rose, filled other offices in this celebrated administration. Mr Pitt, having now ascertained that Mr. Fox and lord North had destroyed their popularity by the coalition and the India bill, foresaw that the confidence of the king and the good opinion of the nation would sustain him, till the next elections, against a majority of the house of commons.

There is no doubt, but that the king experienced a relief and a degree of satisfaction, when this event was fully accomplished, to which he had been a stranger for many years. Since the American war, he never could have been well pleased with his own ministry, for the people detested lord North, and he himself detested Mr Fox; and till Mr Pitt possessed sufficient reputation for ability and integrity to be entitled to govern the country, he was forced to submit himself, or to cause the people to submit to great sacrifices. It may be doubted whether, with the exception of the Pelham there was any administration in Great Britain, satisfactory both to the king and the people, from the accession of the house of Brunswick to the time upon which we have just entered. To speak only of distinguished individuals, sir Robert Walpole and lord Chatham were personally disagreeable to their sovereigns, and lords Bute and North to the people. Indeed, it was scarcely to be expected that, under the two first Georges, any minister could gratify the German prejudices of the king and yet serve the interests of the nation. If Mr Fox had been capable of putting a guard upon his passions, and of speaking at all times in a becoming manner of the conduct and character of the king, it is possible that he might have been rescued from the excesses of his private life; he might have possessed a high moral character, and have exercised a pure and aspiring ambition for the benefit of his country. Mr. Fox's ill success in life must be attributed to his vicious education, for it is agreed by friend and foe, that no politician ever possessed a more exalted intellect, a more winning address, a milder and more placable disposition, and an ambition, which under just control could have pursued sublimer objects.

Meantime Mr Pitt experienced great delays, difficulties, and disappointments in completing a list of administration. Many individuals of rank and consideration, who united with him in political tenets, and whose succor he had reason to expect, nevertheless wanted courage and confidence to assume responsibility in those distressed and disordered times. Dr Tomline relates, that the only sleepless night Mr Pitt ever had, when in good health, was the night of his friend Temple's resignation, just after he had resolved to throw himself into the gap; an action which most of his friends looked upon as leading to self destruction.

This is the most remarkable period of Mr Pitt's life. Nay, we doubt exceedingly whether any period in any statesman's life whatsoever, can be pointed out, presenting so many obstacles and difficulties; that, on the one hand, he might so easily have avoided, but which, on the other, he surmounted with such consummate skill and success. Assisted by works, relating to the history of this time, we shall follow the order marked out by Dr Tomline, and present as copious an account as our limits will permit, of the extraordinary proceedings of opposition, and the no less extraordinary proceedings of the ministry; for we scarcely know any period in the annals of Great Britain or of this country, which merits in a higher degree to be recommended to the deliberation of politicians and statesmen. On the 22d December 1783, Mr Erskine moved, the house being in a committe of the whole house on the state of the nation, that the chairman be instructed to move the house, that the address from which we have extracted the portions that follow, should be presented to his majesty.

'Most gracious sovereign,

'We your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, think ourselves bound in duty humbly to represent to your majesty, that alarming reports of an intended dissolution of parliament have gone forth.

'Your majesty's faithful commons, deeply affected by these important considerations, impressed with the highest reverence and affection for your majesty's person, and anxious to preserve the lustre and safety of your government, do humbly beseech your majesty to suffer your faithful commons to proceed on the business of the session, the furtherance of which is so essentially necessary to public prosperity, and that your majesty will be graciously pleased to hearken to the advice of your faithful commons, and not to the secret advice of particular persons, who may

have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of your majesty and your people.'

Mr Pitt was not at this time a member, his seat being vacated in consequence of his ministerial appointment. The chief weight of the tempest fell, therefore, upon Mr Dundas; but he had rode out too many gales in the house of commons, to shrink or be alarmed, even riding as the ministry then were, hardly at single anchor. Mr Dundas, having alluded with great severity to the coalition, lord North retorted in the following witty manner,—

'It was said on a former day, that a starling ought to be placed in this house, and taught to speak the words "coalition! coalition! cursed coalition!" Now for my part, I think that while there is in this house an honorable gentleman, who never fails, let what will be the subject of debate, to take an opportunity to curse the coalition, there will be no occasion for the starling: and while he continues to speak by rote and without any fixed idea, I think what he says will make just as much impression, as if the starling himself were to utter his words. [Here the house fell into a violent fit of laughter.] As to the coalition and the abuse which was so often thrown upon it, they always bring to my mind two persons, for whom I felt no inconsiderable share of concern. These were two men shut up in the Eddystone light-house to mend the fire; they were of different political principles, and, therefore, though they were shut out from all intercourse with the rest of mankind, and though they might by their conversation have amused one another, yet they never exchanged a word with each other for six weeks, and had rather let the fire go out, and see all the navy of England dashed to pieces under them, than that one should consent to give up the most trivial point to the other.'

By another motion, the opposition appointed the day when the commons should meet after the christmas holidays. This proceeding was as much against the established practice of the house, as the transacting of any business during the short absence of an individual, made necessary by the creation of a minister.

This is the period of an affair which reflects the highest lustre on the principles and character of Mr Pitt.

"During the recess, the clerkship of the pells,* in the gift of the

* Clerk of the pells is an officer of the exchequer. He is appointed for life by the commissioners of the treasury, and as the office may be exercised by a deputy, it is a valuable sinecure. He is called *pells*, from the cir-

first lord of the treasury, became vacant by the death of sir Edward Walpole. Mr Pitt, who had only a small younger brother's fortune, and, to engage in the service of his country, had given up a lucrative and honorable profession, in which his eloquence and talents must have insured him success, could not perhaps have been justly censured, if he had availed himself of this opportunity to secure a permanent and adequate income; especially as his present situation of minister was, in his own judgment, as well as in that of every other person, extremely precarious; and in any case, its emoluments not defraying its necessary expenses, it afforded no prospect of pecuniary compensation; but under existing circumstances, he disdained to convert this event to his own private advantage. He neither accepted the office himself, nor conferred it upon a relation or friend; nor did he dispose of it with a view of increasing his political influence. He gave it to colonel Barre, upon condition of his resigning a pension of £3000 a year, which was nearly equal to the value of the office; and thus a saving to that amount was made to the public.'

Lord Thurlow, in speaking upon this subject in the house of lrods,

" Acknowledged that he had been shabby enough to advise Mr Pitt to take this office, as it had so fairly fallen into his hands; and he believed he should have been shabby enough to have done so himself, as other great and exalted characters had so recently set him the example; and he was so shabby as to think, that there was no occasion for him to tower above his noble predecessors in office, and to aspire to higher acts of disinterestedness and spirit. But Mr Pitt with notions of purity, not only very uncommon in these degenerate days, but scarcely paralleled in the purest times of Greece and Rome, had nobly preferred the public to the consideration of his own interest."—I saw colonel Barre,' continues bishop Tomline, ' soon after this offer was made to him, and nothing could exceed the warm terms in which he spoke of it in a public view.—" Sir, it is the act of a man, who feels that he stands upon a high eminence, in the eyes of that country, which he is destined to govern."

' On the 12th of January,' pursues the biographer, ' the day on which parliament met after the recess, Mr Fox, at the unusual hour of half past two, rose to move the order of the day, for the house to go into a committee upon the state of the nation. This he did, for the purpose of getting possession of the house, and preventing Mr Pitt from bringing forward any business, till his own motions should be disposed of. He was, as he must have foreseen would

cumstance of entering, on a parchment roll, monies received and paid—' Pellis receptorum'—and—' pellis exituum.'

be the case, soon interrupted in his speech, by those members who had been re-elected, and who successively appeared to take the oaths ;* and among the rest, by Mr Pitt, who had been chosen again for Appleby.'

We have introduced the last passage, partly to show the unfair and unparliamentary conduct of Mr Fox, and partly to quote for the amusement of our readers the pedantic and absurd parody delivered by Mr Erskine, in a speech on this motion, and applied to the early and present conduct of Mr. Pitt.

'Such in a few hours he trusted would be the fate of the right honorable gentleman at the head of the present government. Indeed, he never compared, in his own mind, his first appearances in that house, when under the banners of his right honorable friend he supported the genuine cause of liberty, with his present melancholy, ridiculous situation in it, than he was drawn into an involuntary parody of the scene of Hamlet and his mother in the closet :

> 'Look here upon this picture, and on this :
> See what a grace was seated in his youth,
> His father's fire—the soul of Pitt himself,
> A tongue like his to soften or command,
> A station like the genius of England,
> New lighted on this top of freedom's hill ;
> A combination and a form indeed,
> Where every god did seem to set his seal
> To give his country earnest of a patriot.

'Look you now what follows :

> 'Dark secret influence, like a mildew'd ear !
> Blasting this public virtue : has he eyes !
> Could he this bright assembly leave to please,
> To batten on that bench.'

Mr Fox also said,

'That parliament had never been dissolved during the business of a session, since the revolution. In the reigns of the miserable family of the Stuarts, that sort of violence was not uncommon. Charles the First had done it ; Charles the Second had done it ; and James the Second had done it ; and it was, he hoped, engraven on the minds of Englishmen, that the last monarch, by whom this violence was perpetrated, was not allowed to meet another parliament : he dissolved one parliament in the middle of a session, and it put a period to his violations of the constitution, and to his reign.'

* 'The usage is, for all newly elected members, if they shall appear at the bar before four o'clock, to be called up to the table to take the oaths, whoever may happen to be speaking ; but in general, public business is not begun at that hour.'

On the same night at half past two, lord Surrey moved, 'that it is the opinion of this committee, that in the present situation of his majesty's dominions it is peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration which has the confidence of this house and the public.' The house was then resumed, and the motions of Mr Fox and lord Surrey agreed to, and the house adjourned at half past seven.

'This,' says bishop Tomline, 'was a most inauspicious beginning of Mr Pitt's administration. On the first day he appeared in the house of commons, after his re-election, he was left in two minorities, the one of thirty-nine, and the other of fifty-four; and five hostile motions were carried against him. The most reproachful terms, which disappointed ambition and political animosity could suggest, were applied to his principles and his conduct; and he was denied those common civilities, which had been hitherto invariably shewn to the minister of the crown. Having written to the king, at Windsor, a general account of these proceedings, he received the following answer from his majesty: "Mr Pitt cannot but suppose that I received his communications of the two divisions of the long debate, which ended this morning, with much uneasiness, as it shews the house of commons much more willing to enter into any intemperate resolutions of desperate men, than I could have imagined. As to myself, I am perfectly composed, as I have the self-satisfaction of feeling I have done my duty. Though I think Mr Pitt's day will be fully taken up in considering with the other ministers, what measures are best to be proposed in the present crisis; yet that no delay may arise from my absence, I will dine in town, and consequently be ready to see him in the evening, if he should think that would be of utility. At all events, I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life; but I can never submit to throw myself into its power. If they, in the end, succeed, my line is a clear one, and to that I have fortitude enough to submit."'

The opposition, feeling at this time exceedingly powerful, and having resolved to expel the present ministers from the cabinet by force of arms, adhered with redoubled firmness and constancy to motions for committees on the state of the nation. And on the 16th of January, lord Charles Spencer moved,

'That it having been declared to be the opinion of this house, that, in the present situation of his majesty's dominions, it is peculiarly necessary there should be an administration that has the confidence of this house and of the public; and that the

appointment of his majesty's present ministers was accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as do not conciliate or engage the confidence of this house; the continuance of the present ministers, in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility, is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people.'

This was the most important motion made at this time, and contained the substance* of other motions made from the date of this to the 3d of February, all which the ministry lost by a majority of from twenty to thirty votes. It is obviously out of our power to follow, with any sort of minuteness, the course of this long discussion, which is exceedingly valuable and interesting, and is well reported in the parliamentary history. We must, therefore, yield to the necessity of simply preserving the direction and progress of the narrative, and content ourselves with recommending from time to time to the attention of the reader such remarks as the debates may suggest. We find that on this occasion Mr Powys, (afterwards made lord Lilford by Mr Pitt,) who spoke much and well during those troublesome times, and appeared to be actuated by the most disinterested and patriotic motives, said,

'He had a great predilection for Mr Pitt; he had also as strong a predilection for Mr Fox, notwithstanding he could not approve of his coalition with the noble lord in the blue ribbon. He admired and acknowledged his great talents, and he would freely declare, he thought his ambition laudable and honorable. He must at the same time say, he believed he did not care by what means he gratified it. He had long wished the two right honorable gentlemen could have acted together; but then he would acknowledge he saw the difficulty. The noble lord in the blue ribbon could not be disgraced, without the right honorable gentleman's being disgraced at the same time; the disgrace of either must be the disgrace of both. The noble lord now shone with a reflected lustre, with a borrowed light.'

Mr Fox spoke of Mr Pitt's conduct being an 'insult to the honor and sense of the house, and such as should not be overlooked.' He accused him of 'stealing into office by private intrigue and secret influence,' and declared, that 'if he thus per-

* One of these motions was made by lord Surrey, a most zealous whig, and known for a dark complexion. The evening before, at a meeting at Burlington house, a question arising as to the individual who should present the resolution the next day, some one cried out, 'saddle black Surrey for the field tomorrow.'

severed to insult and mock the dignity of the house, stronger measures must be resorted to.' He said that, though 'Mr Pitt's haughtiness, obstinacy, and temerity might hereafter justify such proceedings, still at present he recommended moderation.' Mr Dundas (having as good a scent for a peerage as any man in parliament;—and the subsequent conduct of this gentleman will justify us in using this coarse phrase) had early set himself side by side with Mr Pitt, had most faithfully followed him between treasury and opposition benches, and now, in this hour of need and despondency, rose up manfully and ably to defend him. Dr Tomline has inserted the whole of an able speech spoken by him in this debate, but we have no room for an extract.

During these transactions, addresses from the corporation and merchants of London, and from various parts of the country, were presented to the king, expressing strong confidence in the present ministry, and condemning the violent proceedings of the house of commons. An attempt at union was also made about the same time by a meeting of patriotic and public spirited individuals at the St Alban's tavern.

'Fifty-three members of the house of commons, chiefly independent country gentlemen, attended; and it was unanimously agreed, that a written communication, signed by all who were present, recommending an union of parties, should be made to the duke of Portland and Mr Pitt. Conformably to this resolution, Mr Grosvenor, the chairman, who was member from Chester, the honorable Mr Marshman, sir William Lemon, and Mr Powys, who were county members, as a committee, waited upon the duke and Mr Pitt, with the following statement:—"We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the house of commons, being fully persuaded, that the united efforts of those, in whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles, we have reason to confide, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most humbly entreating his grace the duke of Portland, and the right honorable William Pitt, to communicate with each other, on the arduous situation of public affairs; trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between them, every impediment may be removed to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men." 'To this communication Mr Pitt replied, "That he should be very happy to pay attention to the commands of so respectable a meeting, and co-operate with their wishes to form a stronger and more extended administration, if the same could be

done with principle and honor." And the duke of Portland replied, "That he should think himself happy in obeying the commands of so respectable a meeting, but the greatest difficulty to him, and he imagined a still greater to Mr Pitt, was, Mr Pitt's being in office."'

Several meetings were held, and many votes passed, but Mr Pitt refused to resign and the duke of Portland refused to treat with him in his ministerial capacity. An old member of the commons said, that this diplomacy of the duke of Portland reminded him of the fable, in which the fox said to the raven, sitting on the branch of a tree—Monsieur Corbeau, come down from that branch, and we will settle the terms of our alliance together, on the ground. The gentlemen of St Albans, however, agreed to meet at least once a week, 'for the purpose of availing themselves of any opportunity which might present itself of promoting the great object, which they deemed absolutely necessary at that particular juncture.'

'In consequence of the eagerness for an union of parties, repeatedly expressed by these gentlemen, and also by many others in the house of commons, Mr Pitt, desirous that no backwardness upon the subject should be imputed to him, thought it right, as the most probable means of accomplishing the wishes of so many respectable men, to advise the king to propose an interview between the duke of Portland and himself (Mr Pitt,) for the purpose of endeavoring to form an administration, including themselves and their respective friends. This suggestion was received by his majesty with considerable surprise and agitation; and the next morning he wrote to Mr Pitt the following letter, dated Feb. 15th, 1784.

"*Queen's House, 30m. past* 10 A. M.

"Mr Pitt is so well apprised of the mortification I feel at any possibility of ever again seeing the heads of opposition in public employments, and more particularly Mr Fox, whose conduct has not been more marked against my station in the empire, than against my person, that he must attribute my want of perspicuity in my conversation last night, to that foundation; yet I should imagine it must be an ease to his mind, in conferring with the other confidential ministers this morning, to have on paper my sentiments, which are the result of unremitted consideration, since he left me last night, and which he has my consent to communicate, if he judges it right, to the above respectable persons.

"My present situation is perhaps the most singular that ever occurred, either in the annals of this or any other country; for the house of lords, by a not less majority than near two to one,

have declared in my favor; and my subjects at large, in a much more considerable proportion, are not less decided; to combat which, opposition have only a majority of twenty, or at most of thirty, in the house of commons, who, I am sorry to add, seem as yet willing to prevent the public supplies. Though I certainly have never much valued popularity, yet I do not think it is to be despised, when arising from a rectitude of conduct, and when it is to be retained by following the same respectable path, which conviction makes me esteem that of duty, as calculated to prevent one branch of the legislature from annihilating the other two, and seizing also the executive power, to which she has no claim.

"Should the ministers, after discussing this, still think it advisable, that an attempt should be made to try whether an administration can be formed on a real, not a nominal, wide basis, and that Mr Pitt, having repeatedly, and as fruitlessly, found it impossible to get even an interview on what opposition pretends to admit is a necessary measure, I will, though reluctantly, go personally so far as to authorize a message to be carried in my name to the duke of Portland, expressing a desire that he and Mr Pitt may meet to confer on the means of forming an administration, on a wide basis, as the only means of entirely healing the divisions which stop the business of the nation. The only person I can think, from his office, as well as personal character, proper to be sent by me, is lord Sydney; but should the duke of Portland, when required by me, refuse to meet Mr Pitt, more especially upon the strange plea he has yet held forth, I must here declare, that I shall not deem it right for me ever to address myself again to him.

"The message must be drawn on paper, as must every thing in such a negotiation, as far as my name is concerned; and I trust, when I next see Mr Pitt, if, under the present circumstances, the other ministers shall agree with him in thinking such a proposition advisable, that he will bring a sketch of such a message, for my inspection. "GEORGE R."

'In consequence of this permission from the king, which was evidently given with great reluctance, lord Sydney, on the same day, wrote to the duke of Portland, signifying, "his majesty's earnest desire, that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration, on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." The duke of Portland considered this message as tantamount to a virtual resignation on the part of ministers, and therefore as a removal of the obstacle which had hitherto prevented an interview between himself and Mr Pitt. But no sooner was this difficulty removed, than another was started by the duke of Portland. The royal

message spoke of "forming an administration on fair and equal term;" his grace did not object to the word "fair"—it was a general term, and he and Mr Pitt, in framing the arrangements, might discuss what they considered to be fair: but the word "equal" was more specific and limited; and as a necessary preliminary, he required Mr Pitt to inform him, what he understood by the word "equal." Mr Pitt said, he thought the meaning of that word would be best explained at a personal conference. The duke replied, that he could not meet Mr Pitt, till the word was explained. Mr Pitt declined explaining it; and thus the negotiation was finally broken off. Mr Powys and Mr Marsham were the persons, through whom these communications, relative to the meaning of the word "equal," passed; and the other gentlemen of St Alban's tavern, finding from their statement, that recent endeavors to accomplish an union of parties were as fruitless as former ones; that the "earnest desire" of the king had no better effect than the unanimous resolution of the house of commons; and utterly despairing of success from any farther application, after various consultations, at last came to this concluding resolution:—"This meeting having heard with infinite concern, that an interview between the duke of Portland and Mr Pitt is prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, are unanimously of opinion, that it would be no dishonorable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare." No notice whatever was taken of this resolution, and the meetings were discontinued.'

The motives and conduct of those gentlemen, who were at such infinite pains to unite the great talents of Mr Pitt and Mr Fox in the cause of their country, were entitled to all praise, and cannot be too much commended. But such schemes at all times are obviously impracticable. The ambition, which generally accompanies great talents, covets rule and dominion in an exclusive and unreasonable manner, and the jealousy and enmities, which these contests for power create, would always render an administration, composed of such materials, inefficient and transitory. Conciliation and reconciliation are words often heard in politics, and often employed by the best men, inspired by the most patriotic and generous motives, but we believe that they will never produce any practical good effects, that they will never cease to be an artifice in the hands of the strong to the disadvantage of the weak, until an art is discovered for rooting out that ambition and those jealousies and dislikes and prejudices, with which all men, engaged in political contests, become imbu-

ed and imbittered. There was a broad bottom administration formed by Mr Pulteney (afterwards lord Bath) and another by Mr Fox; but both were inefficient and of short duration.

Having departed somewhat from the course of these memoirs, we shall now return to the proceedings in the house of lords, to which the king refers in his letter. It appears that Mr Pitt was consulted as to the course of conduct which should be pursued by the lords on this occasion, and he recommended a moderate and ample acknowledgment of the prerogatives of the crown, in the appointment of ministers, and a declaration of the determination of that body to support his majesty in the just exercise of those prerogatives. The lords were desirous to avoid a return of that struggle between the two houses, the cause of such mischief and confusion in the last century, and therefore confined themselves to moving two resolutions, setting forth that the attempt of one house of parliament to assume a discretionary power, and thereby suspend the execution of a law, was unconstitutional, and repeating that construction of the royal prerogative which we have already mentioned. This doctrine was embodied in an address and presented to his majesty. It passed in the lords by a vote of one hundred to fifty three; some evidence, in our opinion, that the opposition was not supported by the aristocracy, and that the declaration of a nobleman of high rank was not founded in fact, viz. 'that Mr Pitt beat the whole aristocracy of the country,' especially as at this time not a single peer had been created by the new administration. We hope hereafter to have an opportunity of examining this subject, and presenting a statement of it to our readers. We rejoice that Dr Tomline has given us, on this occasion, an opportunity of quoting from other letters from the king, for we think the character of a monarch who could manifest such undeviating firmness, such remarkable good sense, and such devotedness to the constitution of the country, deserves to be recorded and published.

"I trust the house of lords will this day feel, that the hour is come for which the wisdom of our ancestors established that respectable corps in the state, to prevent either the crown or the commons from encroaching on each other. Indeed, should not the lords stand boldly forth, this constitution must soon be changed; for, if the two only remaining privileges of the crown are infringed, that of negativing bills which have passed both houses

of parliament, and that of naming the ministers to be employed, I cannot but feel, as far as regards my person, that I can be no longer of utility to this country, nor can with honour continue in this island.

Again the king says,

'I cannot conclude, without expressing my fullest approbation of the conduct of Mr Pitt, on Monday; in particular his employing a razor against his antagonists, and never condescending to run into that rudeness, which, though common in that house, certainly never becomes a gentleman. If he proceeds in this mode of oratory, he will bring debates into a shape more creditable, and correct that, as well as I trust many other evils, which time and temper can only effect.'

From this time to the close of the sessions, eight motions were made, pointed specifically against the ministers. The four last were carried by majorities of seven, twelve, nine, and at the last, of one. It may be proper, however, first to state, that the commons, in order to repel the disguised attack of the lords, appointed a committee to examine the journals for precedents, touching the discretionary power of the house of commons, and afterwards passed several resolutions, asserting their dignity and privileges.

We are obliged reluctantly to omit in this place the extracts, which we had prepared from speeches of Mr Fox, Mr Pitt, and lord North, made by occasion of one of these motions, the last of which, particularly, is characterised by its spirit and manliness.

Mr Pitt at last thought proper to make a distinct and explicit declaration on the 18th of February, that his majesty had not thought proper to dismiss his present ministers, and that ministers had not resigned. It is said, that Mr Fox made, on this occasion, one of the most ingenious, powerful, and masterly speeches which he ever pronounced. Indeed, whoever reads the discussions of this day must be filled with delight and wonder at the matchless eloquence of this extraordinary man, at the ingenuity, the perpetual variety, the pathos, the indignation, the bold and terrific prophecies, the apparent liberality, the most devoted patriotism, all expressed in such rapid and overwhelming language, that even the reports enchant, persuade, and convince us. We no longer wonder that he should have been equally worshipped and dreaded, and that lord Mulgrave in his coarse and most repre-

hensible language should have said, that 'he reckoned Mr Fox the most dangerous character that had ever appeared in this country.' Mr Burke's name does not appear in these debates, and under the direction of Mr Fox, assisted by lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and occasionally Mr Powys, never were the opposition benches so brilliant, never so triumphant, as during these two months, and perhaps never, not even during the days of sir Robert Walpole, was such violent, personal, and acrimonious language employed in parliament. Mr. Fox said,

'In his opinion the matter was nearly at a crisis. Was not this the first answer of the sort that ever had been received by the house from a prince of the Brunswick line?'

He proceeded to say,

'That his majesty had a legal right to appoint whom he pleased, and even to continue those he had appointed to be his ministers, in opposition to the sentiments of this house, he pretended not to dispute. But he was certain, on the other hand, the public money was trusted with the house of commons, whose right to distribute that money was at least not less legal. When, therefore, either the one or the other of these rights were asserted in the extreme, he could consider it in no other light, than as a challenge, and the party thus defied was bound in duty to its own honor, calmly and deliberately to consider with itself, whether it should take up the challenge or not.'

Mr Pitt spoke at great length in reply; but we have room only for this extract.

'Many of the right honorable gentleman's arguments had been addressed personally to him, but with what propriety, gentlemen of feeling and delicacy would judge. There were points in personal honor, which no man of spirit could for any object whatever forego; and whatever were his connexions, or attachments, he hoped never to forfeit feelings, without which he could not retain, consistently, any opinion of himself. He would, therefore, declare once for all, that he considered his personal honor deeply and inseparably concerned in the present situation which he held; and that he would not, on any account, first resign, and then stoop to negotiate.'

We have not often reason to admire the eloquence of lord Nugent, but as he proposed a method entirely new, though certainly a very pleasant one, of removing differences, we venture to solicit the reader's forbearance for detaining him a moment, and to recommend to his attention and practice the

noble earl's recipe for reconciling ministers; and we make no doubt, that it will be found equally efficacious with persons of less consideration.

'It was not the first time that he had been instrumental in effecting a conciliation between two great men, who had much greater cause to be at variance than the two right honorable members. The two great men were Mr Pelham and lord Granville. His lordship had appointed to meet at his house, and their meeting was to be kept a profound secret. One repaired to his house quite muffled up, so that it was impossible for any one who saw him to know him. He just introduced them to one another and left them to themselves. He took care, in the mean time, to have a good supper ready for them, of which they partook; they drank heartily after it; the wine put an end to the reserve on which they had acted; they spoke freely; confidence was established between them; they became sincere friends and remained so, and cared not the next day who knew the story of their interview. Thus was this coalition, (and by the bye, this shewed he was a friend to coalitions,) effected in a single night over a glass of good wine.'

On the 8th of March the coalition, in great agony, and after long struggling, breathed its last gasp. The rumor having gone abroad, that most important proceedings were about to take place, the gallery was crowded at a very early hour, but no full and satisfactory report has been preserved, owing to the ill nature of sir James Lowther, called by Junius 'the petty tyrant of the north,' who, having arrived late with a gentleman, whom he wished to introduce, and finding no seat vacant, moved that the standing order of the house, 'that no strangers should be received unless introduced by members,' should be enforced. Many members interfered and entreated, protested and remonstrated; but the honorable baronet insisted upon exercising his right, and it appears that the reporters partook of the fate of those who were excluded. In consequence of which circumstance, the whole gallery was left in possession of sir James Lowther's friend. The manifesto of the coalition, read by Mr Fox on this occasion, has, however, been preserved. It was accepted by a majority of one vote in three hundred and eighty-one votes. It is much admired as a composition; but it contains little beyond a repetition of those opinions which were advanced by the coalition during this discussion.

'Mr Pitt,' says his biographer, 'sent to his majesty at Windsor an account of what had passed this day in the house of commons, and received the following answer: "Mr Pitt's letter is undoubtedly, the most satisfactory I have received for many months. An avowal on the outset, that the proposition held forth is not intended to go farther lengths than a kind of manifesto; and then carrying it by a majority of only one, and the day concluded with an avowal, that all negotiation is at an end, gives me every reason to hope, that by a firm and proper conduct, this faction will, by degrees, be deserted by many, and at length be forgot. I shall ever with pleasure consider, that by the prudence, as well as rectitude of one person, in the house of commons, this great change has been effected; and that he will ever be able to reflect with satisfaction, that in having supported me, he has saved the constitution, the most perfect of human formation."'

Finally,

'Mr Powys, who in the beginning of the contest had voted with Mr Pitt, but in the course of it had taken a different line, followed sir Matthew White Ridley, and "acknowledged with regret, that, notwithstanding the manly stand made by the majority, of which he had the honor to be one, Mr Pitt had conquered the house of commons, and that he held his situation in defiance of their addresses; he gave him credit for his firmness; he had carried the point he had undertaken. The house was, indeed, conquered; for, though a vote of the commons could once bestow a crown, it could not now procure the dismission of a minister."'

With this expression we shall finish the account of this memorable and most interesting discussion. We sincerely regret that the nature of this journal has compelled us to prescribe very narrow limits for our extracts, and fearing that we have not been able to present the subject with that fullness and relief, and point, which it most truly merits, we beg to recommend to the particular study of our readers the chapter of Dr Tomline's memoirs, which contains a history of these proceedings, and which, indeed, we consider the best written in the work; though we cannot avoid making the observation, which we do with the best feelings imaginable, and merely to confirm a remark made in the outset, that with the exception of a small portion of matter, this chapter is composed from the parliamentary history of that year. The mutiny bill and the army extraordinaries were agreed to without a division, and the king came to the house of lords and dissolved parliament, which had been sitting six years.

Whatever may have been the public or private views and motives of Mr Pitt and Mr Fox, this, in reality, was nothing less than a contest, which of those gentlemen should be minister of Great Britain. Mr Pitt supported the prerogatives of the crown, Mr Fox the privileges of parliament, and Pitt prevailed against the coalition for the same reason that Mr Fox had before prevailed against lord North,—the people were with him. Thus in the course of two years, we have two undoubted instances of the direct and unfailing power of the people at large over the house of commons. Mr Pitt waited till he was convinced that he might safely make the appeal, till he perceived that Mr Fox's coalition with lord North and his India bill had given a disrelish and distrust of that party to the community; for no man can say, that any minister since the revolution has had the folly and the madness to resist, even for a week, the sense of the people of England, expressed by their representatives in the house of commons. If the same members had been returned to the sixteenth parliament, the king would probably have gone to Hanover and Mr Pitt to the tower, or, it might have been, to the scaffold.

But at the same time we entertain no manner of doubt that, notwithstanding the support of the king and the people, notwithstanding the possession of the highest intellectual endowments, notwithstanding all the weight and popularity attached to his name, Mr Pitt must have yielded to the majority of the house of commons, he must have submitted to interpret phrases and accept conditions from the duke of Portland, if it had not been that he felt himself inspired, exalted, and fortified by the most spotless and unshaken integrity, by the purest patriotism and disinterestedness. At all times, and in all places, these high qualities were acknowledged and commended in Mr Pitt, both by treasury and opposition. Whatever might have been said of his haughtiness, of his pride, of his austerity, the hardened and desperate opponents of Mr Pitt, in the bitterest moments of debate and defeat, extolled his virtues. Fox, in the midst of those heroic harangues, which we cannot believe have ever been surpassed except perhaps by Mr Sheridan and lord Chatham, when he appeared to be grinding into dust thrones, lords, and ministers, could stoop from his high career, and with tears in his eyes, exclaim, as if he felt that the great moral character of Mr Pitt made his strongest efforts impotent and without effect, as if the in-

tegrity of that man was beyond taint and irresistible, 'I venerate the character of the young man, who holds the reins of government,—I admire his virtues and respect his abilities.' There are seasons in the history of nations, as well as in the lives of individuals, when reputation for unsullied probity, for unblemished integrity, secures a deeper interest and influence than the most profound and extensive learning, or the most brilliant and winning accomplishments, or the most exalted intellectual endowments. Why was it that the progress of Mr Necker from the borders of Switzerland to the boulevards of Paris, in the year 1789, was an uninterrupted triumph, and why did the people of France crowd about him with delight and devotion, as one at whose presence national debts, and famines, and *corvées* were about to disappear. Simply because he was an honest man. And nothing but the high moral character of Washington could have saved this country from all the fury, contagion, rage, and disorganization of the French revolution. Not the genius of Hamilton, vast, active, and powerful as it was, could have done this.

At the election in the next (sixteenth) parliament, Mr Pitt was put in nomination for the city of London. He was also much urged to stand for the city of Bath, which city his father represented, and likewise for several other towns and cities, but having immediately after the dissolution offered himself for the university of Cambridge, he and his friend, lord Euston, prevailed against Mr Townsend and Mr Mansfield, who had represented the university in the last parliament. Mr Pitt polled three hundred seventy-four votes—lord Euston two hundred and eighty-eight—Mr Townsend two hundred and sixty-seven, and Mr Mansfield one hundred and eighty-one. This election was highly gratifying to his feelings. One hundred and thirty of the old members of the opposition lost their seats in this parliament, and the address was carried by a vote of two hundred and eighty-two to one hundred and fourteen.

We shall close our article, with a brief account of Mr Pitt's conduct in regard to the subject of *reform*. Mr Pitt is the first person who made a motion in the house of commons for a reform in parliament. He had inherited from his father a spirit greatly savoring of popular tendencies, and he received, as early as the year 1782, the high compliment of being selected, at a meeting of the friends of reform held at the duke

of Richmond's house in London, as the fittest person to introduce the subject to parliament. The motion which he made on this occasion was rejected by a vote of one hundred and forty-one to one hundred and sixty-one. Mr Pitt again, in the month of May 1783, proposed three specific resolutions; and delivered a speech in vindication of them, which excited great applause. With his accustomed perseverance, Mr Pitt adhered to the accomplishment of this favorite measure, and in his first moments of leisure, in the month of April 1785, mentioned this subject to parliament, and moved that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England. Mr Pitt's scheme was ingenious, plausible, and perhaps practicable, and we shall therefore subjoin a hasty sketch of it, extracted from a publication of the day.

To disfranchise, by a voluntary surrender, thirty-six boroughs, each sending two representatives, equal to	72
Four boroughs additional disfranchised in order to give representation to four large unrepresented towns - - - - - - - - -	8
Ten corporations of large towns expected to surrender their exclusive right of representation - -	20
	100

These representatives would be thus divided:		
To the counties and the metropolis, - -	72	
To towns not represented, - - -	8	
Representation thrown into ten large towns, -	20	
		100

An estimate was made that ninety-nine thousand electors would thus be added to the electoral body. Many of the boroughs being private property, it was proposed to set apart one million pounds to be divided into thirty-six shares, and one share to be bestowed upon each borough surrendering its franchise. The shares of those boroughs refusing to surrender, should be made to accumulate in interest, till it was supposed the temptation would be too great to be resisted. Provision was also made for extension of the right of suffrage to copy-holders, &c.

This bill was also lost by a vote of two hundred and forty-eight to one hundred and seventy-four. Mr Pitt thought

proper to communicate the heads of this scheme to the king; upon which his majesty made the following remarks, in a letter to Mr Pitt:

'I have received Mr Pitt's paper, containing the heads of his plan, for a parliamentary reform, which I look on as a mark of attention. I should have delayed acknowledging the receipt of it till I saw him on Monday, had not his letter expressed, that there is but one issue of the business he could look upon as fatal, that is, the possibility of the measure being rejected, by the weight of those who are supposed to be connected with government. Mr Pitt must recollect, that though I have ever thought it unfortunate, that he had early engaged himself in this measure, yet that I have ever said, that as he was clear of the propriety of the measure, he ought to lay his thoughts before the house; that out of personal regard to him, I would avoid giving any opinion to any one, on the opening of the door to parliamentary reform, except to him; therefore, I am certain, Mr Pitt cannot suspect my having influenced any one on the occasion. If others choose, for base ends, to impute such a conduct to me, I must bear it as former false suggestions. Indeed, on a question of such magnitude, I should think very ill of any man, who took a part on either side, without the maturest consideration, and who would suffer his civility to any one, to make him vote contrary to his own opinion. The conduct of some of Mr Pitt's most intimate friends on the Westminster scrutiny, shews, there are questions, men will not, by friendship, be biassed to adopt.'

We are astonished at this day to learn, that Mr Pitt was at any period of his life a reformer, and this appears the more remarkable, as he, Mr Fox, Mr Burke, Mr Sheridan, and many other distinguished men came into parliament, and several of them there continued, for rotten boroughs. But Mr Pitt, early in the French revolution, opposed the very propositions which he himself had once made, upon the plea, that the feelings and circumstances of the people being greatly changed, any the least innovation, might lead to those disasters and disorders, by which a neighboring kingdom had been overtaken. The same dread of innovation was then expressed;—all united in calling the constitution glorious and venerable, all acknowledged its blemishes and defects, all expressed their gratitude and thankfulness for the freedom, security, prosperity, and happiness, which it had bestowed; but it demanded an eye and a hand, endowed and gifted with a skill and courage more than human, to restore and strengthen it.

We shall take advantage of this subject to present a statement of the house of commons in 1812, to which we are indebted to Oldfield.

'87 peers in England and Wales return		218
90 commoners		137
Government		16
21 peers and peeresses return in Scotland		31
14 commoners		14
36 peers in Ireland		51
19 commoners		20
Total of peers	300	
Total by government and commons	187	
	487	
Returned independent of nomination	171	
Total commons	658	

Duke of Norfolk returns	11
" Rutland	6
" Newcastle	7
Marquis of Buckingham	6
Earl Fitzwilliam	6
" Darlington	7
" Lonsdale	9
Mr. George Rose	3
Sir C. Hawkins	4
John Buller	4 &c.'

We observe by the last London list of books that the third volume of Dr Tomline's work is announced for publication. We shall therefore defer to another opportunity those subjects, which we have not been able to touch upon in this present article. We hope that we shall then have it in our power to present to our readers much information concerning the domestic and private life of Mr Pitt, the want of which, we believe, every one now feels.

We shall finish this article with a few remarks, which the reading of this work has suggested to us. There are several peculiarities in the British house of commons, that procure vast facilities and advantages to individuals endowed with great talents. The first peculiarity is, that the discussion is confined exclusively to half a score of members, for during the great debates, to which we have referred in this article, seldom more than that number took a part. It is true that occasionally there starts up, in these debates, a new member,

who makes what the reporters call a maiden speech, which is heard with great attention, reported with great care, and then, in all probability, the name and the voice are forever lost amidst the din and the shouts of the chiefs of the epic. In these maiden speeches we have observed that the most fatal symptoms are well set, and well prepared sentences and periods, certain moral truisms, and frequent references to the Greeks and the Romans. Such symptoms are commonly mortal. We quote the following as a specimen:

'Mr Drake began *ex abrupto*—"This, Mr Speaker, is another picture of that abominable system of procrastination. The Roman patriots, sir, used to promote the welfare of their country; but, sir, the patriots of this day endeavor to oppose it." Here Mr Drake's memory failed him, and he was obliged to sit down.'

But unless those members speak with promise, they are heard a second time with great indifference, and finally scraped and groaned down, if the less positive expression of the feeling of the house, by one half the members going into the coffee rooms, and the other half going to sleep, is not accompanied by a prompt obedience. Respect is also had to the personal character of the member or of the powerful counties he may represent; but the members are prone to take advantage of the neighboring coffee rooms, and without speaking again of the instance of Mr Hartley and of many worthy and honorable baronets, we have seen it recorded, that Mr Burke, rising to speak and seeing many members leaving their seats, thought proper to resume his own. Whatever advantages may attend the practice of allowing the commons to select their own orator, it has the air of great rudeness; and we are able to account for its origin in no other way, than by supposing that it was first exercised under some of the arbitrary sovereigns to still those who were obnoxious to their censure. No such custom existed during the commonwealth, and as many members spoke then as now speak in our congress.

A great deal also may be learned from the constitution of the house. Many members are sent there merely to vote, who would probably greatly displease their patrons, if they should attempt to speak. Many others who spend great sums to obtain seats have no constituents, and an M. P. is only serviceable to such persons for the purpose of franking letters, of adding a little to their distinction and dignity in drawing rooms and at dinner parties, and as being one proof, besides the right to carry

a gun, that a man is a gentleman. And after all, this is one of the least expensive modes, which an Englishman adopts to prove his claims to that condition. Men seldom go to parliament for the mere purpose of speaking for their constituents, inasmuch as the members of the house of commons have constituents in a more enlarged sense than the members of the American congress, because from the circumstances of our country, there is a much greater variety of interests in it, requiring more specific representation. It often happens, however, that instructions are sent in relation to certain priviliges and customs, by virtue of which members of the house of commons are forced to speak; as was most particularly the case in relation to the slave trade. There is, notwithstanding, as we observed above, a class of members whose sole object is the honor and dignity of a seat in parliament. They care little in what way they get there; and being there, have no particular constituents, whose interests they are called to defend. They have not, as with us, each thirty five thousand constituents, who can reward them with their approbation and often with state offices, whereby such weight is acquired at home, that the national government is forced to extend its patronage to them:—by which circuitous process many a member of congress, who would be immediately defeated on the floor of the house in any attempt to gain influence by taking an active part in the debates, is still enabled by means of long speeches painfully composed and delivered, and diligently printed and distributed through the post office,—to acquire or sustain that popularity among his constituents, which shall send him up to the executive government, clothed in all the importance of a powerful local interest.

Another peculiarity of the English house of commons is, that a division takes place every night; and though such a subject as the Missouri question might be renewed for twenty nights successively, in committee on the state of the nation, yet there is always a certain degree of variety, freshness, and animation, produced by a knowledge, that a decision is about to take place. This peculiarity is a consequence of that which we have mentioned. The third peculiarity is, and it is one which will always make greater orators than we are likely to have in this country, because they will always have more experience, that men of great promise and ambition can enter the house of commons at the age of twenty one;

an age at which an individual seldom can enter even a state legislature in this country. Fox was chosen to the house before he was twenty, Pitt before he was twenty two.

Again, parliament is a profession, and a man becomes as skilful and as much attached to it, as to that vocation by which he earns his bread. The distinguished men in the house of commons remain there twenty and thirty years, and many of them as long as they live. The consequence of this is, that they not only become greater men themselves, but learn to do the business of the nation with greater despatch. We believe that the members from Virginia and South Carolina remain in congress longer than those from the New England states, where an opposite policy, either arising from the caprice of the people, or the circumstances of the candidate, prevails to a fatal degree. We may also observe, that all the distinguished English statesmen from the time of Queen Anne, appear to have been accomplished scholars, and particularly well versed in the Latin language. This was especially the case with the Pitts, father and son, though the practice of quoting Latin in parliament is much diminished, and we have seen it stated by a person of great experience in those matters, that Mr Pitt did not make more than a dozen citations from the classics, in the whole course of his ministry.

ART. XI.—*Report upon Weights and Measures. By John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States. Prepared in obedience to a resolution of the Senate of the 3d of March* 1817. 8vo. pp. 245. Washington. *J. Farrar*

To one who has never had occasion to turn his attention to the history and philosophy of weights and measures, it may appear surprising that the subject should have called for all the learning, and research, and wisdom, displayed in this work. Though foreign to the ordinary duties of a statesman, the senate of the United States seem to have been fully aware of the importance and difficulty of the question before them, and of the qualifications for treating it of the distinguished individual to whom they referred it; and we deem it matter of great congratulation, that congress have, by their prudence and caution, hitherto escaped the evils into which other gov-

ernments have so often been betrayed by unwary and precipitate measures; and that they have at length, in this ample and elaborate document, the means of acting with a more enlarged and more just view of the subject, than has fallen to the lot of any other legislative body.

There are, we think, few subjects of legislation that impose a severer responsibility upon the supreme authority of a state, than that under consideration. An army, a navy, a revenue, &c., call for measures of a comparatively restricted application, and measures whose operation is, for the most, silent and unobserved. But a new regulation, with regard to weights and measures, extends to almost every individual of a community, and controls him in his daily business, and in his habitual transactions with others. It is difficult to conceive how a despot could make his power felt more generally and constantly, or more vexatiously, than by requiring new systems of weights and measures. So, on the other hand, there are few subjects on which some authoritative regulation is more clearly and indispensably necessary, and in which a wise government can more certainly and more effectually promote the cause of justice and fair dealing among a people.

In a reformation of the existing system of weights and measures, which has been repeatedly called for in this, as well as in other countries, several essential changes have been proposed. It has been thought, in the first place, highly important to refer all our measures to some natural standard, that shall remain immutable amid the revolutions to which human things are liable, and which may be recovered when all artificial measures shall be lost or impaired. It is true, that the measures now in use were originally taken from nature; but they were taken from objects in themselves variable. Most measures of length, as the foot, the cubit, the span, the fathom, were borrowed from the human body. The reason of this is evident. Measures were originally employed with direct reference to the human person. They were to be applied almost exclusively to articles of clothing and shelter, or to instruments of war and the chase, and which of course were to be used about the person, and to be adapted to it, in their dimensions and physical qualities. The pace, or length of a single step, was intended for spaces of greater extent, and a mile, as the name imports, was an abridged expression for a thousand of these paces. But when it was found necessary to

compare these different lengths with each other, an inconvenience must have arisen from having so many independent measures, and from their not being of a determinate magnitude. It was a great improvement, therefore, and one which probably took place at an early period, to consider some one of these measures as fixed and unalterable, and instead of measuring one thing with the breadth of the hand, and another with the length of the foot, and another with the two arms extended, to refer all these different independent lengths to the same assumed standard, and to regard them as exact parts or multiples of this standard. The measure, thus adopted, has been in some instances the cubit, or extent from the elbow to the end of the middle finger, in others the yard,* but most generally the foot. The measure known by this latter name has been different at different times, and in different places, and though it was originally borrowed from the length of the human foot, is now purely conventional, and does not admit of being restored in the event of its being lost.

By a natural standard we mean one that is constant, and capable of being determined with precision. Several of this description have been suggested, as the pendulum beating seconds, a certain part of the diameter or circumference of the earth, the space described by a falling body near the surface of the earth, &c. The pendulum has been often recommended, and would seem to be particularly adapted to this purpose, on account of the facility and exactness with which its length can be determined. But there are several circumstances, not

* 'The *yard*, or *girth*,' is thought to be 'a measure of Saxon origin, derived, like those of the Hebrews and the Greeks, from the human body, but, as a natural standard, different from theirs, being taken not from the length or members, but from the circumference of the body. The yard of the Saxons evidently belongs to a primitive system of measures different from that of Greeks, of which the foot, and from that of the Hebrews, Egyptians, and Antediluvians, of which the cubit, was the standard. It affords, therefore, another demonstration, how invariably nature first points to the human body, and its proportions, for the original standards of linear measure. But the yard being for all purposes of use, a measure corresponding with the ulna, or ell, of the Roman system, became, when superadded to it, a source of diversity, and an obstacle to uniformity in the system. The yard, therefore, very soon after the Roman conquest, is said to have lost its original character of girth; to have been adjusted as a standard by the arm of king Henry the First; and to have been found or made a multiple of the foot, thereby adapting it to the remainder of the system; and this may, perhaps, be the cause of the difference of the present English foot from that of the Romans, by whom, as a measure, it was introduced.' *Report, &c. p.* 21.

apparent at first view, which materially affect its claims to this distinction. It requires to be of different lengths in different latitudes, in order to vibrate seconds, and it is of great importance to its general adoption, that the standard should be equally suited to all places on the earth. Besides this, the pendulum involves the consideration of time, and the arbitrary division of the day into eighty-six thousand four hundred seconds, and if the loss of measures at any future time should be attended with the loss of the present manner of dividing the day, it would still be impossible to recover them.

After much inquiry and discussion, it has been thought by those best qualified to judge, that a certain portion of the meridian of the earth affords the best standard that nature offers us. It can be determined with sufficient accuracy. It is common to all the inhabitants of the earth. By means of it, all our journeys and voyages are estimated in certain proportional parts of the whole circuit of the globe; and the territories and countries, which we have occasion to survey, are directly compared to the entire surface of the planet we inhabit. We might also mention, that by adopting the same decimal scale for the quadrant of a circle, absolute distances and degrees upon the earth's surface would be immediately known the one from the other.

Another object proposed by the advocates for reform is, that there should be only one weight, and one measure, under the same name. At present a pound, an ounce, a dram, mean each different things, according to the article to be weighed; and a gallon of wine is one quantity, and a gallon of beer is another, and a gallon of corn is another. It would seem that only one unit of weight is necessary for all articles that are to be weighed, and only one unit of capacity for all such as are estimated by bulk. It would, moreover, be a great convenience to have the several kinds of coin represent different established weights, so that weights and coins might be mutually standards and checks to each other.

But one of the principal inconveniences of the existing system of weights and measures arises from the arbitrary manner, in which the different denominations proceed. Thus, three barley corns make an inch, twelve inches a foot, three feet a yard, five and a half yards a pole, forty poles a furlong, and eight furlongs a mile. The denominations of weight and capacity are equally anomalous and ill adapted to calculation.

It is very evident, that if the several terms denoting weight, and also those which stand for the different measures of length, of surface, capacity, time, &c., were so contrived that each higher denomination should be just ten times the next lower, we might save ourselves all the trouble and perplexity of compound arithmetic. Mercantile questions of every description would be readily solved by the simple rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division.

It may be further added, that the advantages which would result to any one nation in particular, from such a reform, would be greatly increased, if several nations, connected by commerce and letters, could be persuaded to adopt the same system.

It would seem now an easy matter to devise a system embracing the foregoing advantages, and to give it the authority of a law. This has in fact been done, and one leading object of the report before us is, to furnish a statement of the proceedings in foreign countries relative to this subject.

The learned author first makes us acquainted with the English system in its origin, and the changes it has undergone. This it seems has descended to us from the remotest times. It has grown up with man and human society. It has accommodated itself in a greater or less degree to our wants, both physical and intellectual. It has advantages, derived from its long establishment, from the manner in which it has been formed, and from its being combined with so many of our arts and trades, that would be an overbalance to many theoretical excellencies. But it has also many acknowledged defects, some that are inherent in its original structure, and others that have been superadded to it, by the inconsistency of human laws. The changes, however, that have taken place in latter times seem to have been incidental, and not from designed innovation. The government appears to have interfered only to announce and fix the system that had been adopted to a greater or less extent by common consent, and had been in use time out of mind. Of this import is the statute of 1266, (51 Henry III,) which, after re-enacting certain ordinances of long standing relating to the assize of bread, ale, &c.

'Declares, that, "by the consent of *the whole realm* of England, the *measure* of the king was made; that is to say, that an English *penny*, called a sterling round, and without any clipping, shall weigh thirty-two wheat corns in the midst of the ear, and twenty-

pence do make an ounce, and twelve ounces one pound, and eight pound do make a gallon of *wine*, and eight gallons of *wine* do make a London bushel, which is the eighth part of a quarter."

'Henry the Third was the eighth king of the Norman race: and this statute was passed exactly two hundred years after the conquest. It is merely an exemplification, word for word, embracing several ordinances of his progenitors, kings of England; and it unfolds a system of uniformity for weights, coins, and measures of capacity, very ingeniously imagined, and skilfully combined.

'It shows, first, that the money weight was identical with the silver coins: and it establishes an uniformity of proportion* between the money weight and the merchant's weight, exactly corresponding to that between the measure of wine and the measure of grain.

'It makes wheat and silver money, the two weights of the balance, the natural tests and standards of each other; that is, it makes wheat the standard for the weight of silver money, and silver money the standard for the weight of wheat.

'It combines an uniformity of proportion between the weight and the measure of wheat and of wine; so that the measure of wheat should at the same time be a certain weight of wheat and the measure of wine at the same time a certain weight of wine, so that the article whether bought and sold by weight or measure, the result was the same. To this, with regard to wheat, it gave the further advantage of an abridged process for buying or selling it by the number of its kernels. Under this system, wheat was bought and sold by a combination of every property of its nature, with reference to quantity; that is, by number, weight, and measure. The statute also fixed its proportional weight and value, with reference to the weight and value of the silver coin for which it was to be exchanged in trade. If, as the most eminent of the modern economists maintain, the value of every thing in trade is regulated by the proportional value of money and of wheat, then the system of weights and measures, contained in this statute, is not only accounted for as originating in the nature of things, but it may be doubted whether any other system be reconcileable to nature.' p. 24.

'But neither the present avoirdupois, nor troy weights, were

* Frequent use is made of the expressions *uniformity of identity* and *uniformity of proportion*, which are explained at the beginning of the Report.

'By an uniformity of *identity*,' says the author, 'is meant a system founded on the principle of applying only one unit of weights to all weighable articles, and one unit of measures of capacity to all substances thus measured, liquid or dry.

'By an uniformity of *proportion*, is understood a system admitting more than one unit of weights, and more than one of measures of capacity; but in which all the weights and measures of capacity are in an uniform proportion with one another.' *Report, p.* 6.

then the standard weights of England. The key-stone to the whole fabric of the system of 1266 was the *weight* of the silver penny *sterling*. This penny was the two hundred and fortieth part of the tower pound; the sterling or easterling pound which had been used at the mint for centuries before the conquest, and which continued to be used for the coinage of money till the eighteenth year of Henry the Eighth, 1527, when the troy pound was substituted in its stead. The tower or easterling pound weighed three quarters of an ounce troy less than the troy pound, and was consequently in the proportion to it of fifteen to sixteen. Its penny, or two hundred and fortieth part, weighed, therefore, twenty-two and a half grains troy; and that was the weight of the thirty-two kernels of wheat from the middle of the ear, which, according to the statute of 1266, had been taken to form the standard measure of wheat for the whole realm of England. It is also to be remembered, that the eight twelve ounce pounds of wheat, which made the gallon of wine, produced a measure which contained nearly ten of the same pounds of wine. The commercial pound, by which wine and most other articles were weighed, was then of fifteen ounces.' pp. 25, 26.

'This system of weights and measures has been, by many of the modern English writers on the subject, supposed to have been *established* by the statute of 1266. But, upon the face of the statute itself, it is a mere exemplification of ancient ordinances. The coincidences in its composition with those of the ancient Romans, proved by the letter of the Silian law, and by the still existing congius of Vespasian; with those of the Greeks, as described by Galen, and as shown by the proportions between their scale weight and their metrical weight; and with that of the Hebrews, as described in the prophecy of Ezekiel; show that its origin is traceable to Egypt and Babylon, and there vanishes in the darkness of antiquity. As founded upon the identity of nummulary weights and silver coins, and upon the relative proportion between the gravity and extension of the first articles of human traffic, corn and wine, it is supposed to have originated in the nature and relations of social man, and of things.' p. 29.

'The first inroad upon this system in England was made by Edward the First himself, by destroying the identity between the money weight and the silver coin. From the time of the Norman conquest, and long before, that is, for a space of more than three centuries, the tower, easterling, or sterling pound had been coined into twenty shillings, or two hundred and forty of those silver *pennies*, each of which weighed thirty-two kernels of wheat from the middle of the ear. Edward the First, in the year 1328, coined the same pound into two hundred and forty-three pennies of the same standard alloy. From the moment of that coinage,

the penny called a sterling, however round, however unclipped, had lost the *sterling* weight, though it still retained the name. This debasement of the coin, once commenced, was repeated by successive sovereigns, till in the reign of Edward the Third, the pound was coined into twenty-five shillings, or three hundred pennies. The silver penny then weighed only $25\frac{3}{5}$ kernels of that wheat, of which the penny of 1266 weighed thirty-two. It is probable that, in reducing the weight of their coins, none of those sovereigns were aware that they were taking away the standard of all the weights and of all the vessels of measure, liquid and dry, throughout the kingdom: but so it was. It destroyed all the symmetry of the system. It has been further affected by the introduction of the troy and avoirdupois weights.' pp. 29, 30.

'The statute of 1496 inverts the order of the old statutes; it is not a *composition*, but an *analysis*, of measures. It begins with the bushel, and descends to the kernel. The act of 1266, to make the weight, number, and measure, of corn, money, and wine, begins with the kernel, and ascends by steps to the weight of coin; thence to the measure of wine, by the weight of corn; thence to the measure of corn, by the weight of wine. The mere process of the composition establishes the proportional measures. The statute of 1496 destroys the proportion altogether. It says that every gallon shall contain eight pounds of wheat *troy weight*, and every pound twelve ounces of troy weight. It substitutes, therefore, instead of the *weight* of the gallon of wine, prescribed by the statute of 1266, the *measure* of the wine gallon for the eighth part of the bushel. The gallon, established by this act of 1496, is the gallon of two hundred and twenty-four cubic inches; the Guildhall gallon, which in 1688 was found by the commissioners of the excise to be of that capacity. It contains eight pounds troy weight of wheat, and, consequently, eight pounds avoirdupois of Bordeaux wine, of two hundred and fifty grains troy to the cubic inch. Its bushel would contain seventeen hundred and ninety-two cubic inches; but if such a bushel ever was made, as the act required, it never was used as a standard. It must have been found to fall too far short of the old standards still existing; and the real standard bushels of Henry the Seventh, in the exchequer, instead of being made according to the process prescribed in his law of 1496, must have been copied from the older standard bushels then existing.

'The gallon of two hundred and thirty-one inches,* was also a gallon made under the statute of 1496. But the wheat is of that kind, thirty-two grains of which equipoise the penny of the old

* This content of the wine gallon was made the subject of an express statute under Queen Anne, and has remained unchanged ever since. *Report, p.* 43.

tower pound; while the wheat that forms the gallon of two hundred and twenty-four inches, is that of which thirty-two kernels weigh a penny weight troy. The weight of the corn in both gallons would be the same; but that, of which each kernel upon the average would be one sixteenth heavier than those of the other, would, by the combined proportion of gravity and numbers, occupy one thirty-second less of space. This is precisely the difference between the gallons of two hundred and twenty-four and two hundred and thirty-one solid inches.

'The debasement of the coin had destroyed its original identity with the money weight. The substitution of *troy* weight, instead of the old easterling pound, for the composition of the gallon, destroyed the coincidence between the water gallon, derived from the ton, the eighth part of the cubic foot, and the wine gallon, containing eight money pounds of wheat. The wine gallon of two hundred and twenty-four, or two hundred and thirty-one cubic inches, no longer bore the same proportion to the cubic foot of water; one consequence of which was, that the hogshead of Bordeaux wine, which the law required to contain sixty-three gallons, no longer contained that number of English gallons; but, from that day to this, has contained from fifty-nine to sixty-one.' pp. 31, 32.

'By the English system of weights and measures before the statute of 1496, the London quarter of a ton was the one measure, to which the bushel for corn, the gallon, deduced by measure, for ale, and the gallon, deduced by weight, for wine, were all referred. The hogshead was a vessel deduced from the cubing of linear measure, containing sixty-three gallons, and measuring eight cubic feet. The gallon thus formed, contained 219.43 cubic inches. This wine gallon, by another law, was to contain eight twelve ounce pounds of wheat. One such pound of wheat, therefore, occupied 27.45 cubic inches. The vessel of eight times 27.45 cubic inches filled with wine, the liquor would weigh 54,857.1 grains of troy weight: and the weight of eight such gallons of wine would be 438,856.8 grains troy. The specific gravity of wine being to that of wheat as 175 to 143, the bushel thus formed would be of 2148.5 cubic inches; and its eighth part, or ale gallon, would be 268.5 inches. This is only two inches more than the standard Winchester bushel of the exchequer was found to contain, and two inches less than the bushel as prescribed by the act of 13 William III.; a difference which a variation in the temperature of the atmosphere is of itself adequate to produce. It proves, that the Winchester bushel* has not without reason been preserv-

* The Winchester bushel of 2145.6 cubic inches made in the reign of Henry the Seventh, is supposed with good reason to be copied from a standard which had been kept at Winchester when that place was the capital of the kingdom. *Report, p.* 55.

ed as the favorite of all standards, in spite of all the changes, errors, and inconsistencies, of legislation. But it also proves, that the ale and corn gallon ought to have continued as they originally were, of 268½ inches, and the wine gallon of 219½.

'The troy and avoirdupois weights are in the proportions to each other of the specific gravity of wheat and of spring water. The twelve and fifteen ounce easterling pounds were intended to be proportional between the gravity of wheat and wine. But they were roughly settled proportions, estimating the weight of wheat to be to that of wine as four to five, and the gravity of wine and of water to be the same. Under the statute of 1496, the wine gallon was of 224 inches. If troy weight was to be introduced, a gallon of this capacity had the great advantage upon which the proportion of uniformity had originally been established. The gallon contained exactly eight pounds avoirdupois of wine. The pint of wine was a pound of wine. The corn gallon of 272 inches corresponding with it, had the same advantage. It was filled with eight pounds of corn: a pint of wheat was a pound of wheat; and the bushel of 2176 inches contained 64 pounds avoirdupois of that wheat, 32 kernels of which weighed one pennyweight troy. But the hogshead, being of eight cubic feet, could have contained only 61¾ gallons, and the ton would have been of 247.

'The wine and ale gallons, now established by law, of 231 and 282 inches, are still in the same proportion to each other as the troy and avoirdupois weights: but neither of them is in any useful proportion to the bushel. The corn gallon only is in proportion to the bushel. Neither the wine nor the corn gallons are in any useful proportion either to the weights or the coins. But the troy and avoirdupois weights are, with all the exactness that can be desired, standards for each other: and the cubic foot of spring water weighs exactly 1000 ounces avoirdupois, by which means the ton, of thirty-two cubic feet measure, is in weight exactly 2000 pounds avoirdupois.

'Such was originally the system of English weights and measures, and such is it now in its ruins. The substitution of cubic inches, to settle the dimensions of the gallons and bushels, which began with the last century, was a change of the *test* of their contents from gravity to extension. They had before been measured by number, weight, and measure: they are now measured by measure alone. This change has been of little use in promoting the principle of uniformity. As it respects the natural standard, it has only been a change from the weight of a kernel of wheat to the length of a kernel of barley: and although it has specified the particular standard bushels and gallons, selected among the variety, which the inconsistencies of former legislation had pro-

duced, it has very unnecessarily brought in a third gallon measure quite incompatible with the primitive system; and it has legalized two bushels of different capacity, so slightly different as to afford every facility to the fraudulent substitution of the one for the other; yet, in the measurement of quantities, resulting in a difference of between three and four per cent.

'No further change in this portion of English legislation has yet been made. But the philosophers and legislators of Britain have never ceased to be occupied upon weights and measures, nor to be stimulated by the passion for uniformity. In speculating upon the theory, and in making experiments upon the existing standards of their weights and measures, they seem to have considered the principle of *uniformity* as exclusively applicable to identity, and to have overlooked or disregarded the uniformity of proportion. They found a great variety of standards differing from each other: and instead of searching for the causes of these varieties in the errors and mutability of the law, they ascribed them to the want of an immutable standard from *nature*. They felt the convenience and the facility of decimal arithmetic for *calculation;* and they thought it susceptible of equal application to the divisions and multiplications of *time*, *space*, and *matter*. They despised the primitive standards assumed from the stature and proportions of the human body. They rejected the secondary standards, taken from the productions of nature most essential to the subsistence of man; the articles for ascertaining the quantities of which, weights and measures were first found necessary. They tasked their ingenuity and their learning to find, in matter or motion, some *immutable* standard of linear measure, which might be assumed as the single universal standard from which all measures and all weights might be derived.' pp. 44—46.

'After a succession of more than sixty years of inquiries and experiments, the British parliament have not yet acted in the form of law. After nearly forty of the same years of separate pursuit of the same object, *uniformity*, the congress of the United States have shown the same cautious deliberation: they have yet authorized no change of the existing law. That neither country has yet changed its law, is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, in reference to the principle of uniformity for both. If this report were authorized to speak to both nations, as it is required to speak to the legislature of one of them, on the subject in which the object of pursuit is the same for both, and the interest in it common to both, it would say—Is your object *uniformity?* Then before you change any part of your system, such as it is, compare the uniformity that you must lose, with the uniformity that you may gain by the alteration. At this hour, fifteen millions of Britons, who, in the next generation, may be twenty, and ten mil-

lions of Americans, who, in less time, will be as many, have the same legal system of weights and measures. Their mile, acre, yard, foot, and inch—their bushel of wheat, their gallon of beer, and their gallon of wine, their pound avoirdupois, and their pound troy, their cord of wood, and their ton of shipping, are the same. They are of the nations of the earth, the two, who have with each other the most of that intercourse which requires the constant use of weights and measures. Any change whatever in the system of the one, which should not be adopted by the other, would destroy all this existing uniformity. Precious, indeed, must be that uniformity, the mere promise of which, obtained by an alteration of the law, would more than compensate for the abandonment of this.' pp. 46, 47.

After this minute and critical examination of the English system of weights and measures, of which we are able to present but a small part to our readers, the author proceeds to give a detailed account of the celebrated modern French system. The English system, as we have already hinted, the system which, till lately, has prevailed in its more essential features throughout Europe, is the work of time, and the result of successive expedients resorted to as the occasion required. The new system of France is the fruit of an enlightened philosophy. It regards man in his social, improved state. It has respect, not only to his necessities, but to his comforts, his convenience, his improvement. It looks less indeed to his animal, than to his intellectual wants, less to the common occasions of life, than to the refinements of art and science, less to the every day concerns of individual man, than to the vast and multiplied intercourse of nations.

'It is one of those attempts to improve the condition of human kind, which, should it even be destined ultimately to fail, would, in its failure, deserve little less admiration than in its success. It is founded upon the following principles:

1. That all weights and measures should be reduced to one *uniform* standard of linear measure.
2. That this standard should be an aliquot part of the circumference of the globe.
3. That the unit of linear measure, applied to matter, in its three modes of extension, length, breadth, and thickness, should be the standard of all measures of length, surface, and solidity.
4. That the cubic contents of the linear measure, in distilled water, at the temperature of its greatest contraction, should

furnish at once the standard weight and measure of capacity.

5. That for every thing susceptible of being measured or weighed, there should be only one measure of length, one weight, one measure of contents, with their multiples and subdivisions exclusively in decimal proportions.
6. That the principle of decimal division, and a proportion to the linear standard, should be annexed to the coins of gold, silver, and copper, to the monies of account, to the division of *time*, to the barometer and thermometer, to the plummet and log lines of the sea, to the geography of the earth and the astronomy of the skies; and, finally, to every thing in human existence susceptible of comparative estimation by weight or measure.
7. That the whole system should be equally suitable to the use of all mankind.
8. That every weight and every measure should be designated by an appropriate, significant, characteristic name, applied exclusively to itself.' pp. 47, 48.

According to this scheme, the unit of linear measure and basis of the whole system, is the ten millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian, extending from the equator to the pole. This is called the *metre*, and is almost exactly the length of the seconds' pendulum at Paris, or $39\frac{1}{3}$ English inches nearly. A cube, whose side is one tenth of a metre, constitutes the unit of measures of capacity. It is called the *litre*, and is equal to about $2\frac{1}{8}$ English pints. The unit of weights is the *gramme*. It is the weight *in vacuo* of a quantity of pure water, at its maximum of density, that shall exactly fill a cubical vessel, each side of which is one hundredth part of the metre. It is equivalent to about $15\frac{1}{2}$ grains Troy. In land measure the unit, called the *are*, is a square surface, each of whose sides is ten metres. It is nearly equal to ten perches. The unit of measure for fire wood, denominated the *stere*, is a cubic metre, containing about $35\frac{1}{3}$ English cubic feet, or somewhat more than one fourth of a cord. Each of these units is decimally divided and subdivided. Multiples also are taken according to this same decimal scale. To express the denominations less than the unit, the words *deci*, *centi*, *milli*, borrowed from the Latin language, are prefixed to the unit to signify a tenth, a hundredth, a thousandth, of this quantity respectively. In like manner the multiples of each unit are denoted by significant names, the prefixed syllables being

derived from the Greek language. Thus, while *deci-metre*, *centi-metre*, &c., mean a tenth part, a hundredth part, &c., of a metre, *deca-metre* stands for ten metres, *hecto-metre* for one hundred metres, *kilo-metre* for one thousand metres, and *myria-metre* for ten thousand metres. The same prefixes are applied to each of the several units, and furnish all the requisite denominations.*

'The theory of this nomenclature,' it is justly remarked, 'is perfectly simple and beautiful. Twelve new words, five of which denote the things, and seven the numbers, include the whole system of metrology; give distinct and significant names to every weight, measure, multiple, and subdivision, of the whole system; discard the worst of all the sources of error and confusion in weights and measures, the application of the same name to different things; and keep constantly present to the mind the principle of decimal arithmetic, which combines all the weights and measures, the proportion of each weight or measure with all its multiples and divisions, and the chain of uniformity which connects together the profoundest researches of science with the most accomplished labors of art and the daily occupations and wants of domestic life, in all classes and conditions of society.' p. 55.

This plan, thus matured, required several scientific operations to be performed, namely,

'1. To measure an arc of the meridian from Dunkirk to Barcelona, being between nine and ten degrees of latitude, including the 45th, with about six to the north and three to the south of it, and to make upon this line all suitable astronomical observations.

'2. To measure anew the bases, which had served before for the admeasurement of a degree in the construction of the map of France.

'3. To verify, by new observations, the series of triangles, which had been used on the former occasion, and to continue them to Barcelona.

'4. To make, at the 45th degree of latitude, at the level of the

* The coins and monies of account were not originally a part of the above system. They were made to conform to it by adopting the *franc*, a name previously in use, and synonymous with livre, as the unit of both. The weight of this coin, in silver having one tenth alloy, was fixed at five *grammes*; its tenth part was called *décime*, and its hundredth part *centime*.

The reformation was extended also to the calendar. The months were made to consist of thirty days each, and were divided respectively into three weeks of ten days each; the day was divided into ten hours, and the hour into an hundred minutes, and the minute into a hundred seconds. New and significant names were applied to the months of the year and days of the week. This part of the decimal reform has been entirely abolished.

sea, *in vacuo*, at the temperature of melting ice, observations to ascertain the number of vibrations in a day of a pendulum equal to the ten millionth part of the arc of the meridian.

'5. To ascertain, by new experiments, carefully made, the weight *in vacuo*, of a given mass of distilled water at the freezing point.

'6. To form a scale and tables of equalization between the new measures and weights proposed, and those which had been in common use before.' pp. 50, 51.

The three first of these operations were committed to Mechain and Delambre; 'the experiments upon the pendulum to Borda, Mechain, and Cassini; those on the weight of water to Lefevre Gineau and Fabbroni; and the scale and tables to a large committee on weights and measures.'

'The reports of the proceedings of Delambre and Mechain, as well of their field surveys as of their astronomical observations, and all their calculations, were submitted to the inspection, scrutiny, and revision, of a committee of the mathematical and physical class of the national institute, that phœnix of science, which had arisen from the ashes of the academy of sciences. The observations to ascertain the length of the pendulum, and the experiments for determining the specific gravity of distilled water at its maximum of density, were submitted to the same ordeal. Two reports upon the whole result were made to the class, one by Trallés of the Helvetic Confederation, the other by Van Swinden of the Netherlands, two of the foreign associates, who had been invited to co-operate in the labor, and to participate in the honor of the undertaking. These two reports, combined by Van Swinden into one, were then reported from the class to the general meeting of the institute, and by that body, with all suitable solemnity, to the two branches of the national assembly of France, on the 22d of June, 1799, together with a definitive metre of platina, made by Lenoir, and a kilogramme of the same metal, made by Fortin. They were introduced by an appropriate address at the bar of the two houses, by the presiding member of the national institute, La Place; to which answers were returned by the respective presidents of the two legislative chambers. On the same day, the standard metre and kilogramme were deposited in the hands of the keeper of the public archives; and a record of the fact was made and signed by him, and by all the members of the institute, foreign associates, and artists, whose joint labors had contributed to the consummation of this more than national undertaking.' pp. 58, 59.

This system, so admirable in theory, has now been in operation, or rather had the sanction of a public law, more than

twenty years, and notwithstanding it was the work of the nation, its pride and boast, notwithstanding the genius of the times was so favorable to change, and notwithstanding it has had all the support that the most powerful government could give it, it has still been resisted, and if we are correctly informed, is very far from being actually adopted by the great body of the people. Among the difficulties with which it has had to contend, one of the greatest has arisen from its nomenclature. We have already mentioned that twelve names were found sufficient for all the purposes of weight and measure. And yet, to use the expressive language of the report,

'The French nation have refused to learn, or to repeat these twelve words. They have been willing to take a total and radical change of things; but they insist upon calling them by old names. They take the metre; but they must call one-third part of it a foot. They accept the kilogramme; but, instead of pronouncing its name, they choose to call one half of it a pound. Not that the third of a metre is a foot, or the half of a kilogramme is a pound; but because they are not very different from them, and because, in expressions of popular origin, distinctness of idea in the use of language is more closely connected with habitual usage than with precision of expression.

'This observation may be illustrated by our own experience, in a change effected by ourselves in the denominations of our coins, a revolution by all experience known to be infinitely more easy to accomplish than that of weights and measures. At the close of our war for independence, we found ourselves with four English words, pound, shilling, penny, and farthing, to signify all our monies of account. But, though English words, they were not English things. They were no where sterling: and scarcely in any two states of the Union were they representatives of the same sums. It was a Babel of confusion by the use of four words. In our new system of coinage we set them aside. We took the Spanish piece of eight, which had always been the coin most current among us, and to which we had given a name of our own—a dollar. Introducing the principle of decimal divisions, we said a tenth part of our dollar shall be called a *dime*, a hundredth part a *cent*, and a thousandth part a *mille*. Like the French, we took all these new denominations from the Latin language; but instead of prefixing them as syllables to the generic term dollar, we reduced them to monosyllables, and made each of them significant by itself, without reference to the unit, of which they were fractional parts. The French themselves, in the application of their system to their coins, have followed our example; and,

assuming the franc for their unit, call its tenth part a *decime*, and its hundredth a *centime*. It is now nearly thirty years since our new monies of account, our coins, and our mint, have been established. The dollar, under its new stamp, has preserved its name and circulation. The cent has become tolerably familiarized to the tongue, wherever it has been made by circulation familiar to the hand. But the dime having been seldom, and the mille never presented in their material images to the people, have remained so utterly unknown, that now, when the recent coinage of dimes is alluded to in our public journals, if their name is mentioned, it is always with an explanatory definition to inform the reader, that they are ten cent pieces; and some of them which have found their way over the mountains, by the generous hospitality of the country, have been received for more than they were worth, and have passed for an eighth, instead of a tenth part of a dollar. Even now, at the end of thirty years, ask a tradesman, or shopkeeper, in any of our cities, what is a dime or a mille, and the chances are four in five that he will not understand your question. But go to New York and offer in payment the Spanish coin, the unit of the Spanish piece of eight, and the shop or market-man will take it for a *shilling*. Carry it to Boston or Richmond, and you shall be told it is not a shilling, but nine pence. Bring it to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or the City of Washington, and you shall find it recognized for an eleven-penny bit; and if you ask how that can be, you shall learn that, the dollar being of ninety pence, the eighth part of it is nearer to eleven than to any other number: and pursuing still further the arithmetic of popular denominations, you will find that half eleven is five, or, at least, that half the eleven-penny bit is the fi-penny bit, which fi-penny bit at Richmond shrinks to four pence half-penny, and at New York swells to six pence. And thus we have English denominations most absurdly and diversely applied to Spanish coins; while our own lawfully established dime and mille remain, to the great mass of the people, among the hidden mysteries of political economy—state secrets.

'Human nature, in its broadest features, is every where the same. This result of our own experience, upon a small scale, and upon a single object, will easily account for the repugnance of the French people to adopt the new nomenclature of their weights and measures. It is not the length of the words that constitutes the objection against them, nor the difficulty of pronunciation; for, fi-penny bit is as hard to speak and as long a word as kilogramme, and eleven-penny bit has certainly more letters and syllables, and less euphony, than myria-metre. But it is because, in the ordinary operations of the mind, distinctness of idea is, by the laws of nature, linked with the chain of associa-

tion between sensible images and their habitual denominations, more closely than with the exactness of logical analysis.' pp. 55–57.

Various expedients have been resorted to by the French government at different times to accommodate the new system to the unyielding habits and usages of the people. These amount, as will appear by the following extract, to an abandonment of almost every thing but the several units of measure and weight.

'An imperial decree of 12th February 1812, presents the subject under a new aspect, by ordaining,

'1. That the *units* of weights and measures should remain unchanged, as established by the law of 10th December 1799.

'2. That the minister of the interior should cause to be made *instruments* for weight and mensuration, presenting the fractions or multiples of the said units the most commonly used in commerce, and accommodated to the wants of the people.

'3. That these instruments should bear on their respective faces the comparison of the divisions and denominations established by law, with those which had been formerly used.

'4. That after a term of ten years a report should be made to the emperor of the result of experience upon the improvements, of which the system of weights and measures might be susceptible.

'5. That in the mean time the legal system should continue to be taught in all the schools, and be exclusively used in all the public offices, and in all markets, halls, and commercial transactions.

'For the execution and explanation of this decree, an ordinance was, on the 28th of March, 1812, issued by the minister of the interior, of the following purport:

'Art. 1. Permission was granted to employ for the purpose of commerce

'1. A long measure equal to two metres, to be called a toise, and to be divided into six feet:

'2. A measure equal to one third of the metre, to be called a foot, to be divided into twelve thumbs, and the thumb into twelve lines.

'Each of these measures shall bear on one side the corresponding divisions of the metre, that is to say: the toise, two metres, divided into decimetres, and the first decimetre into millimetres; and the foot, three decimetres and one third, divided into centimetres and millimetres, in all $333\frac{1}{3}$ millimetres.

'Art. 2. All cloths may be measured by a stick equal in length to twelve decimetres, to be called an *ell*, (aune,) which shall be divided into halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths, as well as into thirds, sixths, and twelfths. It shall bear on one of its sides

the corresponding divisions of the metre, in centimetres only; that is to say, one hundred and twenty centimetres, numbered from ten to ten.

'Art. 4. Corn and other dry measure articles may be measured, *in sales at retail*, by a vessel equal to one-eighth of the hectolitre, which shall be called a boisseau, and shall have its double, its half, and its quarter.

'Art. 5. For *retail* sales of corn, seeds, meal, and roots, green or dry, the litre may be divided into halves, quarters, and eighths.

'Art. 7. For *retail* sales of wine, brandy, and other liquors, measures of one-quarter, one-eighth, and one-sixteenth of the litre may be used; each of which measures shall be called by a name signifying its proportion to the litre.

'Art. 8. For retail sales of all articles which are sold by weight, the shopmen may employ the following *usual* weights:

'The pound, (livre,) equal to half a kilogramme, or 500 grammes, which shall be divided into sixteen ounces.

'The ounce, (once,) or sixteenth part of the pound, which shall be divided into eight gros.

'The gros, or eighth part of the ounce, which shall be divided into halves, quarters, and eighths.

'They shall bear, with their appropriate names, the indication of their weight in grammes, namely:

The pound	500 grammes
Half pound	250
Quarteron	125
Eighth, or ½ quarter	62.5
Ounce	31.3
Half ounce	15.6
Quarter ounce, 2 gros	7.8
Gros	3.9

'And such is at this day the system of weights and measures, or, rather, such are the systems existing in France in their present condition; for, it cannot escape observation, that this decree and explanatory ordinance engraft upon the legal system an entirely new system, founded upon different, and, in many important respects, opposite principles. So that the result hitherto of the most stupendous and systematic effort ever made by a nation to introduce uniformity in their weights and measures, has been a conflict between four distinct systems:

'1. That which existed before the Revolution.

'2. The temporary system established by the law of 1st August 1793.

'3. The definitive system established by the law of 10th December 1799. And,

'4. The *usual* system *permitted* by the decree of 12th February 1812.

'This last decree is a compromise between philosophical theory and inveterate popular habits. Retaining the principle of decimal multiplication and division for the legal system, it abandons them entirely in the weights and measures which it allows the people to use. Instead of the metre and its decimals, it gives the people a toise of six feet, an aune of three feet and one-fifth, a foot of twelve thumbs, and a thumb of twelve lines. And these measures, instead of divisions exclusively decimal, are divisible in halves, thirds, quarters, sixths, eighths, twelfths, and sixteenths. Instead of a decimated kilogramme, it gives them a pound of sixteen ounces, an ounce of eight gros, and a gros of seventy-two grains. The measures of capacity, wet and dry, have the same indulgence; and while the standard weight and measure are deposited in the national archives, the people have restored to them for use all the names and divisions of their ancient weights and measures, though not the same things. For the toise, which is twice the length of the metre, is not the old toise; the foot, which is the third part of the metre, is not the *pied de roi:* but both are longer measures. The half kilogramme, which is a pound, is not the ancient mark weight pound; nor are the boisseau or litre those of ancient times: they are all respectively near approximations to them.

'If the existing system and practice terminated here, it would be far from having attained the ideal perfection of uniformity; but it is believed that, for a multitude of purposes, with this double and complicated system, there is yet a very extensive remnant in use of that which prevailed before the revolution. It appears, from questions at this time in discussion between the governments of the United States and of France, that the tonnage of the French shipping is calculated by admeasurements in cubic royal feet: and it appears hence probable that, in all the business of ship building, and in practical navigation, those measures are still used. Without positive knowledge of the fact, the analogy of all experience warrants the conjecture, that in every part of France, remote from the capital, not only the use of the old legal system, but of the local weights and measures which prevailed in the various cities and districts of the country, is far from being eradicated.

'The changes which have forced themselves upon the new system, under the attempt to reduce it to practice, should serve as admonitions to correct the errors of theory; but not operate as discouragement to the pursuit of the principal object, *uniformity.* The French metrology, in the ardent and exclusive search for an universal standard from nature, seems to have viewed the subject too much with reference to the nature of things, and not enough to the nature of man. Its authors do not appear to have consid-

ered, in all the bearings of the system, the proportions dictated by nature between the physical organization of man, and the *unit* of his weights and measures. The standard taken from the admeasurement of the earth had no reference to the admeasurement and powers of the human body. The metre is a rod of forty inches: and by applying to it exclusively the principle of decimal divisions, no measure corresponding to the ancient *foot* was provided. An unit of that denomination, though of slightly varied differences of length, was in universal use among all civilized nations: and the want of it is founded in the dimensions of the human body. Perhaps for half the occasions which arise in the life of every individual for the use of a linear measure, the instrument, to suit his purposes, must be portable, and fit to be carried in his pocket. Neither the metre, the half metre, nor the decimetre are suited to that purpose. The half metre corresponds indeed with the ancient cubit: but perhaps one of the causes which have every where, since the time of the Greeks, substituted the foot in the place of the cubit, has been the superior convenience of the shorter measure. Besides which, the cubit being the unit, the half cubit might serve the purposes of the foot; but the metre, divisible only by two and by ten, gave no measure practically corresponding with the foot whatever. It appears also not to have been considered, that decimal arithmetic, although affording great facilities for the computation of numbers, is not equally well suited for the divisions of material substances. A glance of the eye is sufficient to divide material substances into successive halves, fourths, eighths, and sixteenths. A slight attention will give thirds, sixths, and twelfths. But divisions of fifth and tenth parts are among the most difficult that can be performed without the aid of calculation. Among all its conveniences, the decimal division has the great disadvantage of being itself divisible only by the numbers two and five. The duodecimal division, divisible by two, three, four, and six, would offer so many advantages over it, that while the French theory was in contemplation, the question was discussed, whether the reformation of weights and measures should not be extended to the system of arithmetic itself, and whether the number twelve should not be substituted for ten, as the term of the periodical return to the unit. Since the establishment of the French system, this idea has been reproduced by philosophical critics, as an objection against it; and Delambre, in the third volume of the Base du Systeme Metrique, p. 302, has considered it, and assigned the reasons for which it had been rejected. He admits, to the full extent, the advantages of a duodecimal over a decimal arithmetic; but alleges the difficulty of effecting the reformation, as the decisive reason against attempting it.' pp. 67—71.

We are next presented with a particular enumeration of the advantages of the French system, contrasted with those of the English, and a full discussion of their respective merits.

'In what then does the superiority of the French system, in all its novelty and freshness, over that of England, in all its decays, theoretically consist?

'1. In an invariable standard of linear measure, taken from nature, and being an aliquot decimal portion of the quarter of the meridian.

'2. In having a single unit of all weights, and a single unit of measures of capacity for all substances, liquid or dry.

'3. In the universal application of the decimal arithmetic, to the multiples and divisions of all weights and measures.

'4. In the convenient proportions by which the coins and money of account are adjusted to each other and to the weights.

'5. In the uniformity, precision, and significancy, of the nomenclature.

'1. If the project of reforming weights and measures had extended, as was proposed by the French system, to the operations of astronomy, geography, and navigation; if the quadrant of the circle and of the sphere had been divided into one hundred degrees, each of one hundred thousand metres; the assumption of that measure would have been an advantage much more important than it is, or can be, in the present condition of the system. Whether it would have compensated for disturbing that uniformity which exists, and which has invariably existed, of the division into ninety degrees, with sexagesimal subdivisions of minutes and seconds, is merely matter of speculation. At least, it has been found impracticable, even in France, to carry it into effect: and, without it, the metre, as the natural standard of the system, has no sensible advantage over the foot. To a perfect system of uniformity for all weights and measures, an aliquot part of the circumference of the earth is not only a better natural standard unit than the pendulum, or the foot, but it is the only one that could be assumed. Every voyage round the earth is an actual mensuration of its circumference. All navigation is admeasurement; and no perfect theory of weights and measures could be devised, combining in it the principle of decimal computation, of which any other natural standard whatever could accomplish the purpose. Its advantages over the pendulum are palpable. The pendulum bears no proportion to the circumference of the earth, and cannot serve as a standard unit for measuring it. Yet a system of weights and measures, which excludes all geography, astronomy, and navigation, from its consideration, must be essentially defective in the principle of uniformity.

'But, if the metre and its decimal divisions are not to be applied to those operations of man, for which it is most especially adapted; if those who circumnavigate the globe in fact are to make no use of it, and to have no concern in its proportions; if their measures are still to be the nonagesimal degree, the marine league, the toise, and the foot; it is surely of little consequence to the farmer who needs a measure for his corn, to the mechanic who builds a house, or to the townsman who buys a pound of meat, or a bottle of wine, to know that the weight, or the measure which he employs, was standarded by the circumference of the globe. For all the uses of weights and measures, in their ordinary application to agriculture, traffic, and the mechanic arts, it is perfectly immaterial what the natural standard, to which they are referrible, was. The foot of Hercules, the arm of Henry the First, or the barley-corn, are as sufficient for the purpose, as the pendulum, or the quadrant of the meridian. The important question to them is, the correspondence of their weight or measure with the positive standard. With the standard of nature, from which it is taken, they have no concern, unless they can recur to it as a test of verification. However imperfect for this end the human foot, or the kernel of wheat or barley, may be, they are at least easily accessible. It is a great and important defect of the systems which assume the meridian or the pendulum for their natural standard, that they never can be recurred to without scientific operations.' pp. 73—75.—

'2. The advantage of having a single unit of all weights and a single unit of measures of capacity, is so fascinating to a superficial view, that it would almost seem presumption to raise a question, whether it be so great as at first sight it appears. The relative value of all the articles which are bought and sold by measures of capacity, is a complicated estimate of their specific gravity and of the space which they occupy. If both these properties are ascertained by one instrument for any one article, it cannot be applied with the same effect to another. Thus the litre, in the French system, is a measure for all grains and all liquids: but its capacity gives a weight only for distilled water. As a measure of corn, of wine, or of oil, it gives the space which they occupy, but not their weight Now, as the weight of those articles is quite as important in the estimate of their quantities as the space which they fill, a system which has two standard units for measures of capacity, but of which each measure gives the same weight of the respective articles, is quite as uniform as that which, of any given article, requires two instruments to show its quantity; one to measure the space it fills, and another for its weight.' pp. 75, 76.—

'The Romains had the *mina* and the *libra*, the nummulary

pound of twelve ounces, and the commercial pound of sixteen. And the Greeks, as well as the Romans, had a weight for small and precious, and a weight for bulky and cheap commodities. The Greeks denominated them by significant terms, *the weight for measure*, and *the weight for money*. Whether the ounce, of which these pounds were composed, was the same, is a subject of much controversy, but of little importance to decide. At the period of the lower empire, these two weights were known by the name of the *eastern* and *western* pound. And the denomination of the former was the same in England: it was the *easterling* pound, and the origin of the term sterling in the English language: it was the pound of the eastern nations, by which Europe was overrun in the decline of the Roman Empire. The avoirdupois pound had the same origin: for it came through the Romans from the Greeks, and through them, in all prabability, from Egypt. Of this there is internal evidence in the weights themselves, and in the remarkable coincidence between the cubic foot and the thousand ounces avoirdupois, and between the ounce avoirdupois and the Jewish silver shekel. The Greek foot was, within a fraction of less than the hundredth part of an inch, the same with that of England. The ounce avoirdupois is the same with the Roman and Attic ounce, and the exact double of the Jewish shekel. The Silian plebiscitum, or ordinance of the Roman people, of the year 509, two hundred and fifty years before the Christian era, declares, that a quadrantal of wine shall be eighty pounds, a congius of wine ten pounds; that six sextarii make a congius of wine, forty-eight sextarii a quadrantal of wine; that the sextarius of liquid and dry measures should be the same; and that sixteen pounds make the modius. The congius was the Roman gallon, and the modius the Roman peck. The quadrantal was the same as the amphora, and was formed from the cubic foot of water, so that eighty pounds of wine were equal to a cubic foot of water.

'The same combinations are traced with equal certainty to the Greeks and Egyptians: and, if the shekel of Abraham was the same as that of his descendents, the avoirdupois ounce may, like the cubit, have originated before the flood.

'This diversity is, therefore, founded in the nature of things; and may be stated by the following rule: that whatever is sold *by* weight, in *measure*, must have a measure for itself, which will serve for no other article, of different specific gravity; and as wheat and wine are both articles of that description, as their specific gravities are very materially different, although they are very suitable to be weighed by the same weight, they yet require different measures, to place them in equipoise with that weight. The difference of specific gravity between the vinous and watery fluids is so slight, that neither in the Greek, the Roman, nor the

English system, was there any account taken of it. But with regard to oil, it appears that the Greeks had a separate measure adapted to its specific gravity, which they considered as being in proportion to that of wine or water as nine to ten.

'Notwithstanding, therefore, the first appearance of superior uniformity and simplicity, presented by the single unit of weights, and single measure of capacity in the new system of France, it appears to be more conformable to the order of nature, and more subservient to the purposes of man, that there should be two scales of weight and two measures of capacity, graduated upon the respective specific gravities of wheat and wine, than with a single weight and a single measure, to be destitute of any indication of weight in the measure.

'This conclusion has been confirmed by a very striking fact, which has occurred in France under the new system. By an ordinance of police, approved on the 6th of December, 1808, by the Minister of the Interior, it is prescribed that the sale of oil in Paris by retail shall be *by* weight, in measures, containing five hectogrammes, one double hectogramme, one hectogramme, &c. And these measures, being cylinders of tin, are stamped with initial letters, indicating that one is for sweet oil, and the other for lamp oil. So that here are two new measures of capacity altogether incongruous to the new system, each differing in cubic dimensions from the other, though to measure the single article of oil, and both differing from the litre. They attach themselves indeed to the new system by *weight*, but abandon entirely its pretensions to unity of measure; and fall at once into the principle of the old system, of adapting the measure to the weight.' pp. 76—78.—

'There are conveniences in the intercourse of society, connected with the use of smaller and more minutely perfect weights and measures of capacity, for sales of articles by retail, than by wholesale, and for articles of great price, though of small bulk. Thus, drugs, as articles of commerce, and in gross, are sold by the avoirdupois or commercial pound; used as medicines, in minute quantities, and compounded by the apothecary, they are sold by the smaller or nummulary weight. The laws of Pennsylvania authorize innkeepers to sell beer, *within the house*, by the wine measure; but, for that which they send out of the house, require them to use the beer gallon or quart. In both these cases the difference of the measure forms part of the compensation for the labor and skill of the apothecary, and part of the profits necessary to support the establishment of the publican. There is, finally, an important advantage in the establishment of two units of weights and measures of capacity, by the possession in each of a standard for the verification of the other. It serves as a guard

against the loss or destruction of the positive standard of either. The troy and avoirdupois pounds are to each other as 5,760 to 7,000. Should either of these standard pounds be lost, the other would supply the means of restoring it. The same thing might be effected by the measures of beer and of wine. The French system has designated the pendulum as such a standard for the verification of the metre. The English system gives, in each weight and measure, a standard for the other.

'The result of these reflections is, that the uniformity of nature for ascertaining the quantities of all substances, both by gravity and by occupied space, is a uniformity of proportion, and not of identity; that, instead of one weight and one measure, it requires two units of each, *proportioned* to each other; and that the original English system of metrology, possessing two such weights, and two such measures, is better adapted to the only uniformity applicable to the subject, recognized by nature, than the new French system, which, possesing only one weight and one measure of capacity, identifies weight and measure only for the single article of distilled water; the English uniformity being relative to the *things* weighed and measured, and the French only to the instruments used for weight and mensuration.

'3. The advantages of the English system might, however, be with ease adapted to that of France, but for the exclusive application in the latter of the decimal arithmetic to all its multiples and subdivisions. The decimal numbers, applied to the French weights and measures, form one of its highest theoretic excellencies. It has, however, been proved by the most decisive experience in France, that they are not adequate to the wants of man in society: and, for all the purposes of retail trade, they have been formally abandoned. The convenience of decimal arithmetic is in its nature merely a convenience of calculation: it belongs essentially to the keeping of accounts; but is merely an incident to the transactions of trade. It is applied, therefore, with unquestionable advantage, to monies of account, as we have done: yet, even in our application of it to the *coins*, we have not only found it inadequate, but in some respects inconvenient. The divisions of the Spanish dollar, as a coin, are not only into tenths, but into halves, quarters, fifths, eighths, sixteenths, and twentieths. We have the halves, quarters, and twentieths, and might have the fifths; but the eighth makes a fraction of the cent, and the sixteenth even a fraction of a mill. These eighths and sixteenths form a very considerable proportion of our metallic currency; and although the eighth dividing the cent only into halves adapts itself without inconvenience to the system, the fraction of the sixteenth is not so tractable; and in its circulation, as small change, it passes for six cents, though its value is six and a quar-

ter, and there is a loss by its circulation of four per cent, between the buyer and the seller. For all the transactions of retail trade, the eighth and sixteenth of a dollar are among the most useful and convenient of our coins: and, although we have never coined them ourselves, we should have felt the want of them, if they had not been supplied to us from the coinage of Spain.' pp. 80—82.—

'It has already been remarked, that the only apparent advantage of substituting an aliquot part of the circumference of the earth, instead of a definite portion of the human body, for the natural unit of linear measure, is, that it forms a basis for a system embracing *all* the objects of human mensuration; and that its usefulness depends upon its application to geography and astronomy, and particularly to the division of the quadrant of the meridian into centesimal degrees. In the novelty of the system, this was attempted in France, as well as the decimal divisions of time, and of the rhumbs of the wind. A French navigator, suffering practically under the attempt thus to navigate, decimally, the ocean, recommended to the national assembly to decree, that the earth should perform four hundred revolutions in a year. The application of decimal divisions to time, the circle, and the sphere, are abandoned even in France. And for all the ordinary purposes of mensuration, excepting itinerary measure, the metre is too long for a standard unit of nature. It was a unit most especially inconvenient as a substitute for the foot, a measure to which, with trifling variations of length, all the European nations and their descendants were accustomed. The foot rule has a property very important to all the mechanical professions, which have constant occasion for its use: it is light, and easily portable about the person. The metre, very suitable for a staff, or for measuring any portion of the earth, has not the property of being portable about the person: and, for all the professions concerned in ship or house building, and for all who have occasion to use mathematical instruments, it is quite unsuitable. It serves perfectly well as a substitute for the yard or ell, the fathom or perch; but not for the *foot*. This inconvenience, great in itself, is made irreparable when combined with the exclusive principle of decimal divisions. The union of the metre, and of decimal arithmetic, rejected all compromise with the foot. There was no legitimate extension of matter intermediate between the ell and the palm, between forty inches and four. This decimal despotism was found too arbitrary for endurance; not only the foot, but its duodecimal divisions, were found to be no arbitrary or capricious institutions, but founded in the nature of the relations between man and things. The duodecimal division gives equal aliquot parts of the unit, of two, three, four, and six. By giving the third and the fourth, it indirectly gives the eighth and the sixteenth,

and gives facility for ascertaining the ninth, or third of the third. Decimal division, in giving the half, does not even give the quarter, but by multiplication of the subdivisions. It is incommensurable with the *third*, which unfortunately happened to be the foot, the universal standard unit of the old metrology. The choice of the kilogramme, or cubical decimetre of distilled water, as the single standard unit of weights, with the application to it of the decimal divisions, was followed by similar inconveniences. The pound weight should be a specific gravity easily portable about the person, not only for the convenience of using it as an instrument, but as the measure of quantities to be carried. To the common mass of the people, the use of weights is in the market, or the shop. The article weighed is to be carried home. It is an article of food for the daily subsistence of the individual or his family. As he has not the means of purchasing it in large quantities, it must often be sold in quantities represented by the pound weight, which, like the foot rule, with various modifications, is universally used throughout the European world. Subdivisions of that weight, the half, the quarter of a pound, are often necessary to conciliate the wants and means of the neediest portion of the people; that portion to whom the *justice* of weight and measure is a necessary of life, and to whom it is one of the most sacred duties of the legislator to secure that justice, so far as it can be secured by the operation of human institutions. The half of the kilogramme was nearly equivalent to the ancient Paris pound. But there was in the new system no half, or quarter of a pound; because there was no quarter or eighth of a kilogramme. There was no intermediate weight between the pound, or half kilogramme, and the hectogramme, which was a fifth part of a pound.' pp. 80—83.—

'From the verdict of experience, therefore, it is doubtful whether the advantage to be obtained by any attempt to apply decimal arithmetic to weights and measures, would ever compensate for the increase of diversity which is the unavoidable consequence of change. Decimal arithmetic is a contrivance of man for computing numbers; and not a property of time, space, or matter. Nature has no partialities for the number ten: and the attempt to shackle her freedom with them, will for ever prove abortive.' p. 85.—

'4. The fourth advantage of the French metrology over that which we possess, consists in the convenient proportions, by which the coins and monies of account are adjusted to each other, and to the weights.

'This is believed to be a great and solid advantage; not possessed exclusively by the French system, for it was, in high perfection, a part of the original English system of weights and measures, as has already been shown. It was more perfect in that system, be-

cause the silver coins and weights were not merely proportioned to each other, but the *same*. This is not the case with the French coins: and even their *proportions* to the weights are disturbed and unhinged by the mint allowance, or what they call toleration of inaccuracy, both of weight and alloy. This toleration, which is also technically called the *remedy*, ought every where to be exploded. It is in no case necessary. The toleration is injustice: the remedy is disease. If it were the duty of this report to present a system of weights, measures, and coins, all referrible to a single standard, combining with it, as far as possible, the decimal arithmetic, and of which uniformity should be the pervading principle, without regard to existing usages, it would propose a silver coin of nine parts pure and one of alloy: of thickness equal to one-tenth part of its diameter; the diameter to be one-tenth part of a foot, and the foot one-fourth part of the French metre. This dollar should be the unit of weights, as well as of coins and of accounts; and all its divisions and multiples should be decimal. The unit of measures of capacity should be a vessel containing the weight of ten dollars of distilled water, at the temperature of ten degrees of the centigrade thermometer: and the cubical dimensions of this vessel should be ascertained by the weight of its contents; the decimal arithmetic should apply to its weight, and convenient vulgar fractions to its cubical measure. This system once established, the standard weight and purity of the coin should be made an article of the constitution, and declared unalterable by the legislature. The advantage of such a system would be to embrace and establish a principle of uniformity with reference to time, which the French metrology does not possess. The weight would be a perpetual guard upon the purity and value of the coin. No second weight would be necessary or desirable. The coin and the weight would be mutual standards for each other; accessible, at all times, to every individual. Should the effect of such a system only be, as its tendency certainly would be, to deprive the legislative authority of the power to debase the coins, it would cut up by the roots one of the most pernicious practices that ever afflicted man in civil society. By its connexion of the linear standard with the French metre, it would possess all the advantages of having that for a unit of its measures of length, and a link of the most useful uniformity with the whole French metrology.' pp. 85, 86.—

'5. The last superior advantage of the French metrology is, the *uniformity*, precision, and significancy of its nomenclature.

'In mere speculative theory, so great and unequivocal is this advantage, that it would furnish one of the most powerful arguments for adopting the whole system to which it belongs. In every system of weights and measures, ancient or modern, with which

we are acquainted, until the new system of France, the poverty and imperfection of language has entangled the subject in a snarl of inextricable confusion. The original *names* of all the units of weights and measures have been improper applications of the substances from which they were derived. Thus, the foot, the palm, the span, the digit, the thumb, and the nail, have been, as measures, improperly so called, for the several parts of the human body, with the length of which they corresponded. Instead of a specific name, the measure usurped that of the standard from which it was taken. Had the foot rule been unalterable, the inconvenience of its improper appellation might have been slight. But, in the lapse of ages, and the revolutions of empires, the foot measure has been every where retained, but infinitely varied in its extent. Every nation of modern Europe has a foot measure, no two of which are the same. The English foot indeed was adopted and established in Russia by Peter the Great; but the original Russian foot was not the same. The Hebrew shekel and maneh, the Greek mina, and the Roman pondo, were *weights*. The general name *weight* improperly applied to the specific unit of weight. The Latin word libra, still more improperly, was borrowed from the balance in which it was employed: libra was the balance, and at the same time the pound weight. The terms *weight* and *balance* were thus generic terms, without specific meaning. They signified any weight in the balance, and varied according to the varying gravities of the specific standard unit at different times and in different countries. When, by the debasement of the coins they ceased to be identical with the weights, they still retained their names. The *pound* sterling retains its name three centuries after it has ceased to exist as a weight, and after having, as money, lost more than two thirds of its substance. We have discarded it indeed from our vocabulary; but it is still the unit of monies of account in England. The *livre* tournois of France, after still greater degeneracy, continued until the late revolution, and has only been laid aside for the new system. The ounce, the drachm, and the grain, are specific names, indefinitely applied as indefinite parts of an indefinite whole. The English pound avoirdupois is heavier than the pound troy; but the ounce avoirdupois is lighter than the ounce troy. The weights and measures of all the old systems present the perpetual paradox of a whole not equal to all its parts. Even numbers lose the definite character which is essential to their nature. A dozen become sixteen, twenty-eight signify twenty-five, one hundred and twelve mean a hundred. The indiscriminate application of the same generic term to different specific things, and the misapplication of one specific term to another specific thing, universally pervade all the old systems, and are the inexhaustible fountains of diversity, confusion, and fraud. In the

vocabulary of the French system, there is one specific, definite, significant word, to denote the unit of lineal measure; one for superficial, and one for solid measure; one for the unit of measures of capacity, and one for the unit of weights. 'The word is exclusively appropriated to the thing, and the thing to the word. The metre is a definite measure of length: it is nothing else. It cannot be a measure of one length in one country, and of another length in another. The gramme is a specific weight, and the litre a vessel of specific cubic contents, containing a specific weight of water.' pp. 87, 88.—

—'But there is a natural aversion in the mass of mankind to the adoption of words, to which their lips and ears are not from their infancy accustomed. Hence it is, that the use of all technical language is excluded from social conversation, and from all literary composition suited to general reading; from poetry, from oratory, from all the regions of imagination and taste in the world of the human mind. The student of science, in his cabinet, easily familiarizes to his memory, and adopts, without repugnance, words indicative of new discoveries or inventions, analogous to the words in the same science already stored in his memory. The artist, at his work, finds no difficultry to receive or use the words appropriate to his own profession. But the general mass of mankind, of every condition, reluct at the use of unaccustomed sounds, and shrink especially from new words of many syllables. But weights and measures are instruments indispensable, not only to the philosophical student and the professional artist; they are the want of every individual and of every day. They are the want of food, of raiment, of shelter, of all the labors and all the pleasures of social existence. Weights and measures, like all the common necessaries of life, have, in all the countries of modern Europe, customary names of one, or, at most, of two, syllables. The units of the new French system have no more; but their multiples and subdivisions have four or five; and, although compounded of syllables familiar to those who had any acquaintance with the classical languages of Greece and Rome, they had a strange and outlandish sound to the ears of the people in general, who would never be taught to pronounce them. Hence, after an experience of several years, it was found necessary, not only to give back to the people the vulgar fractions of their measures, which had been taken from them, but all their indefinite and many-meaning words of pound and ounce, foot, aune and thumb, boisseau and pint. Since which time there have been, besides all the relics of the old metrology, two concurrent systems of weights and measures in France; one, the proper legal system, with decimal divisions and multiplications, and the new, precise, and significant nomenclature; and the other a system of sufferance, with the same instru-

ments, but divided in all the old varieties of vulgar fractions, and with the old improper vocabulary, made still more so by its adaptation to new and different things.

'Perhaps it may be found, by more protracted and multiplied experience, that this is the only uniformity attainable by a system of weights and measures for universal use: that the same material instruments shall be divisible decimally for calculations and accounts; but in any other manner suited to convenience in the shops and markets; that their appropriate legal denominations shall be used for computation, and the trivial names for actual weight, or mensuration.

'It results, however, from this review to the present condition of the French system in its native country, and from the comparison of its theoretical advantages over that which we already possess, that the time has not arrived at which so great and hazardous an experiment can be recommended, as that of discarding all our established existing weights and measures, to adopt and legalize those of France in their stead. The single standard, proportional to the circumference of the earth; the singleness of the units for all the various modes of mensuration; the universal application to them of decimal arithmetic; the unbroken chain of connexion between all weights, measures, monies, and coins; and the precise, significant, short, and complete vocabulary of their denominations; altogether forming a system adapted equally to the use of all mankind; afford such a combination of the principle of uniformity for all the most important operations of the intercourse of human society; the establishment of such a system so obviously tends to that great result, the improvement of the physical, moral, and intellectual condition of man upon earth; that there can be neither doubt nor hesitation in the opinion, that the ultimate adoption, and universal though modified application of that system, is a consummation devoutly to be wished.' pp. 89, 90.—

There is a great deal of justness, we think, in the foregoing remarks, and we regret that we are obliged to omit others equally novel and discriminating.

It seems very evident, that an undue importance has been attached to the circumstance of referring our measures to a natural standard, as if that would do away all existing varieties, and all the mutabilities effected by time. Though nature, in this case, may be constant, our estimates and deductions must partake of the imperfection and changes that belong to human things. There have been different measurements in France of the same terrestrial arc, made by the ablest astrono-

mers, and with the greatest care, and pains, and expense, which give results materially different, as it respects some parts of the system founded upon them. Other measurements, on other meridians, and in other latitudes, and more especially in the other hemisphere, at other times, and by other methods, would probably lead to conclusions still more discordant. It is to be recollected, moreover, that there is something hypothetical in the process by which the definitive metre, as it now exists, was finally determined. About one tenth part of the quadrant of the meridian was the subject of actual measurement. This arc, though reduced to the level of the sea, was not found to be of a regular curvature, either circular or elliptical. The remaining nine tenths of the quadrant was to be calculated, and it was necessary, not only to assume a certain ratio between the equatorial and polar diameters of the earth, but to take for granted, what the present measurement seemed to disprove, that the meridian of the earth is a true ellipse. The above ratio, according to the most accurate results, has varied from $\frac{1}{300}$ to $\frac{1}{335}$. The measurement just mentioned, taken by itself, would give $\frac{1}{150}$.

But let it be supposed that the metre is precisely what it pretends to be, the ten millionth part of the quadrant of the meridian. There is already as much disagreement as to the actual length in English inches of this *positive* standard, the definitive platina metre deposited in the archives of the French government at Paris, as there is with regard to its natural prototype. Among the latest determinations, and those which pretend to the greatest accuracy, there is a difference of an hundredth of an inch,* a very considerable quantity, when we recollect that the eye is capable of distinguishing to the five hundredth of an inch, without the aid of a microscope, and that in nice experiments upon the comparison of measures, the estimates are often to the hundred thousandth of an inch.

Notwithstanding, therefore, we refer our measures to a permanent standard in nature, it is not this natural, perfect, invariable length, but its imperfect, variable representative in platina or brass, that we are condemned to use; and what is to exempt this from the accidents and discrepancies that have befallen the conventional standards hitherto employed?

The chief recommendation of a natural standard, taken

* This difference in the unit of length would lead to a difference in the unit of weight of one thirteen hundredth part.

from the circumference of the earth, is, that being adapted to the general use of mankind, it may possibly become the common standard of different nations. Another advantage is, that by the centesimal division of the quadrant of the circle, it admits of a great improvement in nautical, geographical, and other important calculations. It is true that this part of the system is relinquished, partly because it is so difficult to change the habits of men engaged in the practical professions, and partly because their methods, tables, instruments, &c., becoming obsolete, would require to be replaced by new ones, accommodated to the new order of things. It was not to be expected, that so great a revolution in the habits and pursuits of men would take place all at once. When the more essential parts of the system are once firmly established, and men begin to realize the proposed benefit, in all its magnitude and importance, it will be less difficult to adopt those parts that have been discontinued.

With regard to the decimal progression, considered as a constituent part of this system, it will probably be long before it is fully adopted, if it is adopted at all. It happens unfortunately in some respects, that the earth's magnitude is such as not to afford us a unit, that is a decimal part of its circumference, and at the same time the best adapted to the uses of society. The almost universal prevalence of a linear measure, approaching to our foot, seems to indicate a peculiar adaptation of this length to human wants. Next to the foot, the measures most used are the yard, ell, or aune, and the fathom, or toise, to each of which the metre is well suited, being nearly equivalent to the yard or ell, and to half the toise or fathom. The French government have authorized the third of the metre to be used under the denomination of foot. There would seem to be less objection to the fourth of the metre being taken for this purpose, as it can be expressed without a vulgar fraction; and it has this particular recommendation, that its tenth part would give us back the inch within a small fraction. It may be observed, moreover, that so far as a correspondence with the dimensions of the human person is of importance, the fourth part of a metre would much more accurately represent the medium length of the natural foot, than the measure now in use.* There would apparently

* The natural foot is stated to be 9.768 inches. The fourth part of the metre is 9.844 inches.

be no more inconvenience in employing this measure as a substitute for the foot, referring still to the metre as the unit, than we now experience in the use of the fourth of a dollar, referring to the dollar as the unit; and probably the occasions for this sum are as much more frequent than those for the dollar, as the occasions for the foot exceed those for the metre. It will be observed, that we have here availed ourselves of the outline of a system so ingeniously sketched by the author of the report, upon which we should be tempted to enlarge, were it not that the bane of all speculation, as well as of legislation relative to this subject, has been the multiplicity of systems.

It is believed, that the difficulty attending the decimal relation of the different denominations of weight and measure, has arisen from previous habits, more than from any inherent incompatibility of such a progression with the purposes to be answered. It is true, that this relation is inconvenient, on account of the small number of divisors belonging to the number ten. But this inconvenience would be greatly outweighed, we think, even with respect to those who have little to do with calculation, by the advantages to be derived from a scale of weights and measures, thus rendered identical with our numerical scale.

That a decimal proportion among weights and measures is capable of meeting the wants of society, seems to be proved by the example of the Chinese, who, it appears, have anticipated us in this reform, as they have in many other things which we of the west claim as our own.* 'The decimal multiplication and subdivision of quantities,' says sir George Staunton, 'used almost in every instance by the Chinese, greatly simplifies their computations. Thus, for example, a *leang*, which is generally equal to an ounce of silver, is subdivided into ten *chen*, the chen into ten *fen*, and the fen into ten *lee*. The ideal subdivisions of money descend much lower, but always, as well as in increasing quantities, in the same decimal proportions.'† Another great advantage in the Chinese system of coins, weights, and measures, is the brevity of the language, almost all the names, not only of the denominations of

* It is maintained upon apparently good authority, that the Chinese have been before us in the use of the mariner's compass, the art of printing, gunpowder, and inoculation for the small pox.

† Macartney's Embassy to China, vol. ii. p. 265. See also the New Edinburgh Encyclopedia, art. *China*.

money, as here given, but also of those ap lied to weight and measure, being monosyllables. These names, taken together, contain in fact fewer syllables than the corresponding ones of the so much admired French system, and would probably have met with less opposition by the mass of the French nation. We would further remark, that it is on account of this decimal proportion, that the Chinese are able to make their mercantile computations with so much facility and despatch, by means of the *swan pan*, a very simple mechanical instrument, consisting of a sort of beads strung upon wires, but which admirably represents the scale of numbers, according to the decimal notation.

If the units of the French system could be introduced without too violent an innovation, the decimal divisions and multiples would naturally follow in the course of time. They would probably be adopted almost immediately by persons engaged in scientific pursuits, and they would greatly extend that community of language, which already exists with regard to abstract numbers, the mathematical and physical sciences, the divisions of the day, of the year, and of the circle. There need be no more confusion arising from different divisions and multiples of the same units, than has proceeded from a similar state of our money system, than is now experienced from the not unfrequent application of decimal arithmetic to our present measures and weights. Much beyond this is not perhaps to be expected. The language of science and philosophy must always be in a degree different from that in common use, but it is of great importance that both should be such as to admit of an easy translation from one into the other.

As, therefore, the general adoption, at least of the leading features, of a philosophical system of weights and measures, like that of France, would be of such eminent service to the cause of human improvement, the most powerful considerations are presented in the report before us with a view to the attainment of this great end.

—'As final and universal uniformity of weights and measures is the common desideratum for all civilized nations; as France has formed, and for her own use has established, a system, adapted, by the highest efforts of human science, ingenuity, and skill, to the common purposes of all; as this system is yet new, imperfect, susceptible of great improvements, and struggling for exist-

ence even in the country which gave it birth; as its universal establishment would be an universal blessing; and as, if ever effected, it can only be by consent, and not by force, in which the energies of opinion must precede those of legislation; it would be worthy of the dignity of the Congress of the United States to consult the opinions of all the civilized nations with whom they have a friendly intercourse; to ascertain, with the utmost attainable accuracy, the existing state of their respective weights and measures; to take up and pursue, with steady, persevering, but always temperate and discreet exertions, the idea conceived, and thus far executed, by France, and to co-operate with her to the final and universal establishment of her system.

'But, although it is respectfully proposed that Congress should immediately sanction this consultation, and that it should commence, in the first instance, with Great Britain and France, it is not expected that it will be attended with immediate success. Ardent as the pursuit of uniformity has been for ages in England, the idea of extending it beyond the British dominions has hitherto received but little countenance there. The operation of changes of opinion there is slow; the aversion to all innovations, deep. More than two hundred years had elapsed from the Gregorian reformation of the calendar, before it was adopted in England. It is to this day still rejected throughout the Russian empire. It is not even intended to propose the adoption by ourselves of the French metrology for the present. The reasons have been given for believing, that the time is not yet matured for this reformation. Much less is it supposed advisable to propose its adoption to any other nation. But, in consulting them, it will be proper to let them understand, that the design and motive of opening the communication is, to promote the final establishment of a system of weights and measures, to be common to all civilized nations.

'In contemplating so great, but so beneficial a change, as the ultimate object of the proposal now submitted to the consideration of Congress, it is supposed to be most congenial to the end, to attempt no present change whatever in our existing weights and measures; to let the standards remain precisely as they are; and to confine the proceedings of Congress at this time to authorizing the Executive to open these communications with the European nations where we have accredited ministers and agents, and to such declaratory enactments and regulations, as may secure a more perfect uniformity in the weights and measures now in use throughout the Union.

'The motives for entertaining the opinion, that any change in our system at the present time would be inexpedient, are four:

'First, That no change whatever of the system could be adopted, without losing the greatest of all the elements of unformity,

that referring to the persons using the same system. This uniformity we now possess, in common with the whole British nation; the nation with which, of all the nations of the earth, we have the most of that intercourse which requires the constant use of weights and measures. No change is believed possible, other than that of the whole system, the benefit of which would compensate for the loss of this uniformity.

'Secondly, That the system, as it exists, has an uniformity of proportion very convenient and useful, which any alteration of it would disturb, and perhaps destroy; the proportion between the avoirdupois and troy weights, and that between the avoirdupois weight and the foot measure; one cubic foot containing of spring water exactly one thousand ounces avoirdupois, and one pound avoirdupois consisting of exactly seven thousand grains troy.

'Thirdly, That the experience of France has proved, that binary, ternary, duodecimal, and sexagesimal divisions, are as necessary to the practical use of weights and measures, as the decimal divisions are convenient for calculations resulting from them; and that no plan for introducing the latter can dispense with the continued use of the former.

'Fourthly, that the only *material* improvement, of which the present system is believed to be susceptible, would be the restoration of identity between weights and silver coins; a change, the advantages of which would be very great, but which could not be effected without a corresponding and almost total change in our coinage and monies of account: a change the more exceptionable, as our monetary system is itself a new, and has hitherto been a successful institution.

'Of all the nations of European origin, ours is that which least requires any change in the system of their weights and measures. With the exception of Louisiana, the established system is, and always has been, throughout the union, the same. Under the feudal system of Europe, combined with the hierarchy of the church of Rome, the people were in servitude, and every chieftain of a village, or owner of a castle, possessed or asserted the attributes of sovereign power. Among the rest, the feudal lords were in the practice of coining money, and fixing their own weights and measures. This is the great source of numberless diversities existing in every part of Europe, proceeding not from the varieties which in a course of ages befell the same system, but from those of diversity of origin. The nations of Europe are, in their origin, all compositions of victorious and vanquished people. Their institutions are compositions of military power and religious opinions. Their doctrines are, that freedom is the grant of the sovereign to the people, and that the sovereign is amenable only to God. These doctrines are not congenial to nations originating in

colonial establishments. Colonies carry with them the general laws, opinions, and usages, of the nation from which they emanate, and the prejudices and passions of the age of their emigration. The North American colonies had nothing military in their origin. The first English colonies on this continent were speculations of commerce. They commenced precisely at the period of that struggle in England between liberty and power, which, after long and bloody civil wars, terminated in a compromise between the two conflicting principles. The colonies were founded by that portion of the people, who were arrayed on the side of liberty. They brought with them all the rights, but none of the servitudes, of the parent country. Their constitutions were, indeed, conformably to the spirit of the feudal policy, charters granted by the crown; but they were all adherents to the doctrine, that charters were not donations, but compacts. They brought with them the weights and measures of the law, and not those of any particular district or franchise. The only change which has taken place in England with regard to the legal standards of weights and measures, since the first settlement of the North American colonies, has been the specification of the contents of measures of capacity, by prescribing their dimensions in cubical inches. All the standards at the exchequer are the same that they were at the first settlement of Jamestown; with the exception of the wine gallon, which is of the time of queen Anne: and the standards of the exchequer are the prototypes, from which all the weights and measures of the union are derived.' pp. 91—94.

The official reports, above alluded to, upon the weights and measures, as authorized by the different state legislatures, and upon the state of the weights and measures used at the several custom houses in the United States, and other valuable documents appended to this work, we are obliged to leave unnoticed. Our limits will only admit of the following recapitulation of the propositions finally submitted to Congress for their adoption.

'The plan which is thus, in obedience to the injunction of both houses of Congress, submitted to their consideration, consists of two parts. the principles of which may be stated: 1. To fix the standard, with the partial uniformity of which it is susceptible, for the present, excluding all innovation. 2. To consult with foreign nations, for the future and ultimate establishment of universal and permanent uniformity. An apology is due to Congress for the length, as well as for the numerous imperfections, of this report. Embracing views, both theoretic and historical, essentially different from those which have generally prevailed upon the subject to which it relates, they are presented with the diffidence

due from all individual dissent encountering the opinions of revered authority. The resolutions of both houses opened a field of inquiry so comprehensive in its compass, and so abundant in its details, that it has been, notwithstanding the lapse of time since the resolution of the Senate, as yet but very inadequately explored. It was not deemed justifiable to defer longer the answer to the calls of both houses, even if their conclusion from it should be the propriety rather of further inquiry than of immediate action. In freely avowing the hope that the exalted purpose, first conceived by France, may be improved, perfected, and ultimately adopted by the United States, and by all other nations, equal freedom has been indulged in pointing out the errors and imperfections of that system, which have attended its origin, progress, and present condition. The same liberty has been taken with the theory and history of the English system, with the further attempt to shew that the latter was, in its origin, a system of beauty, of symmetry, and of usefulness, little inferior to that of modern France.

'The two parts of the plan submitted are presented distinctly from each other, to the end that either of them, should it separately obtain the concurrence of Congress, may be separately carried into execution. In relation to weights and measures throughout the Union, we possess already so near an approximation to uniformity of law, that little more is required of Congress for fixing the standard than to provide for the uniformity of fact, by procuring and distributing to the executives of the states and territories positive national standards conformable to the law. If there be one conclusion more clear than another, deducible from all the history of mankind, it is the danger of hasty and inconsiderate legislation upon weights and measures. From this conviction, the result of all inquiry is, that, while all the existing systems of metrology are very imperfect, and susceptible of improvements involving in no small degree the virtue and happiness of future ages; while the impression of this truth is profoundly and almost universally felt by the wise and the powerful of the most enlightened nations of the globe; while the spirit of improvement is operating with an ardor, perseverance, and zeal, honorable to the human character, it is yet certain, that, for the successful termination of all these labors, and the final accomplishment of the glorious object, permanent and universal uniformity, legislation is not alone competent. A concurrence of will is indispensable to give efficacy to the precepts of power. All trifling and partial attempts of change in our existing system, it is hoped, will be steadily discountenanced and rejected by Congress; not only as unworthy of the high and solemn importance of the subject, but as impracticable to the purpose of uniformity, and as inevitably tending to the reverse,

to increased diversity, to inextricable confusion. *Uniformity* of weights and measures, permanent, universal uniformity, adapted to the nature of things, to the physical organization and to the moral improvement of man, would be a blessing of such transcendent magnitude, that, if there existed upon earth a combination of power and will, adequate to accomplish the result by the energy of a single act, the being who should exercise it would be among the greatest of benefactors of the human race. But this stage of human perfectibility is yet far remote. The glory of the first attempt belongs to France. France first surveyed the subject of weights and measures in all its extent and all its compass. France first beheld it as involving the interests, the comforts, and the morals, of all nations and of all after ages. In forming her system, she acted as the representative of the whole human race, present and to come. She has established it by law within her own territories ; and she has offered it as a benefaction to the acceptance of all other nations. That it is worthy of their acceptance, is believed to be beyond a question. But *opinion* is the queen of the world ; and the final prevalence of this system beyond the boundaries of France's power must await the time when the example of its benefits, long and practically enjoyed, shall acquire that ascendency over the opinions of other nations, which gives motion to the springs and direction to the wheels of power.' pp. 133—135.

Art. XII.—1. *Public documents relating to the New York canals, which are to connect the western and northern lakes with the Atlantic ocean ; with an introduction. Printed under the direction of the New York corresponding association for the promotion of internal improvements.* New York, 8vo, pp. 536, 1821.

2. *History of the rise, progress, and existing condition of the western canals in the state of New York, from September* 1788 *to the completion of the middle section of the Grand Canal, in* 1819 *; together with the rise, progress, and existing state of modern agricultural societies on the Berkshire system, from* 1807 *to the establishment of the Board of Agriculture in the state of New York, January* 10, 1820. *By Elkanah Watson.* Albany, 8vo, pp. 210. 1820.

3. *A vindication of the claim of Elkanah Watson Esq. to the merit of projecting the lake canal policy, as created by the canal act of March* 1792. *And also a vindication of the*

claim of the late Gen. Schuyler to the merit of drawing that act, and procuring its passage through the legislature. By Robert Troup Esq. Geneva, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 61. 1821.

In every state, which is blessed with a liberal and enlightened government, domestic improvements become an object of solicitude, the moment that protection from foreign violence is assured, the personal rights of the citizen protected, and the education of his children guarantied. When these essential points have been gained, the energies of government ought to be directed in improving the cultivation of the soil, in establishing useful manufactures, and extending commerce, internal as well as foreign. The progress of the United States from their infancy to the present time might, perhaps, afford some elucidation of this course. It is not, however, our intention to mark the change which our soil has assumed, since the period of our independence, to advert to our thriving factories, to notice the invention of machines, which have done infinite honor to the mechanical genius of our countrymen, or to point out the general progress of industry and enterprise amongst us. We intend merely to direct the attention of our readers, in pursuance of the allusions to the general subject of internal improvement in a previous number of our review,* to the canals mentioned in the title of this article.

It would be a useless attempt to set forth at this day the advantages of canals. They are proved by the experience of every people who possess them, and demonstrated equally by the dingy workshops of Birmingham, and the civic palaces of Amsterdam. Canals destroy monopolies, by bringing remote places into competition; they give an immediate value to articles, which, from their weight or bulk, were before worthless; they unite distant places together by a reciprocal interest and an exchange of commodities; they animate industry, increase population, and thus minister abundantly to the power and happiness of every state. It is in this view, that the duke of Bridgewater may claim the proud honor of having been one of the most munificent benefactors of his country. His first canal of only seven miles was executed so late as the years 1758-9. It induced others to follow the example; and an artificial navigation of three thousand miles now not only contributes most powerfully to the maritime and commercial

* North American Review, vol. xi. p. 49 et seq.

superiority of England, but afforded its effectual support to a contest, which she waged against all Europe at an unparalleled expense. How much does not the glory of such improvements outshine the lustre of military fame. The canal of Languedoc will consecrate the name of Andreossy,* when the fields of Rocroi and Nordlingen are forgotten.

The United States have not been insensible to the value of an easy and rapid inter-communication between the different parts of the union. In a country of limited extent, and especially in one like Great Britain, which is washed on all sides by the ocean, the value of canals is comparatively small; good roads and water courses serve as a substitute. But in a country of great territorial dimensions, their importance is increased in proportion to their length. The immense inland navigation of Russia is a striking example; for without it, she would be obliged to resort to a most expensive and circuitous foreign commerce.† In the United States, therefore, such a system must be of infinite advantage; and it is fortunate that they afford facilities for bringing it into operation, perhaps superior to those possessed by any state in Europe. In that admirable 'Report on Public Roads and Canals,' which was made in 1807, in pursuance of a resolution of the senate, by Mr Gallatin, then secretary of the treasury, some of these facilites are stated. By cutting ninety eight miles at different points, an inland transportation is secured along the whole coast from Maine to the extremity of Georgia, protected from the dangers of the ocean, and the attacks of the enemy. The lakes, those great inland seas, afford us opportunities for interior communication enjoyed by no other nation. They wash an extent of frontier second only to our sea-coast. But when we cast our eyes upon the map, and in connexion with these lakes trace the course of the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio, the Susquehanna, the Hudson, and their tributary streams, what a glorious field of operation presents itself. The imagination can scarcely do justice to the grandeur and importance of those

* We are aware that Riquet is generally considered the author of the canal of Languedoc; but we believe that the merit of that work is due to François Andreossy. He communicated the original project to Riquet, who made use of it at court, and, having secured the work, employed the talent of Andreossy in its execution. See this question discussed in the *Histoire du canal du midi, par François Andreossy, général de division, &c. chapitre VII.*

† See a General History of Inland Navigation, by J. Phillips; sect. 3. London, 1803.

enterprises which shall unite the waters of the lakes with the waters of the ocean, and convert that immense and fertile country, from the head waters of the Missouri to lake Erie, into the abodes of myriads of freemen, who will owe their existence, as well as their high place in civilization and the arts, to the mighty plans of internal improvement now projected. Grand as these projects are, the inherent resources of the country are more than sufficient to realize them. For it will be recollected, that the extensive improvements between the 'great geographical divisions' of the United States, contemplated in that able and luminous report, already alluded to, amounted only to $16,600,000; a sum which very little exceeds the receipts into the treasury at Washington, for the last three quarters of the present year.

To shew that these views are just, we return to a consideration of those works, which constitute the subject of this article. The first volume before us contains the public documents relating to the commencement and prosecution of the Champlain and great western canals, in the state of New York. They consist of the seven reports of the canal commissioners from 1810 to 1821 inclusive, and a variety of legislative papers, the application to the general government for assistance, and the report thereon, the report of the commissioners of the canal fund, and a very valuable correspondence on the subject of canals in general, and their construction. The appendix contains two very interesting letters from Gov. Brown of Ohio, and W. Steele Esq. of Cincinnati, on the projected canal from the Ohio to lake Erie; and two large and valuable maps of the route of the New York canals accompany the work. The whole is preceded by an excellent and animating preface by Mr Charles G. Haines. It appears that the collection of the papers was made by that gentleman, in pursuance of a resolution of the 'New York corresponding association for the promotion of internal improvements;' and we think that the public are much indebted, not only to that society, but to Mr Haines, for having thus united in a compact form whatever is most valuable and authentic concerning that great enterprise, in which the country now feels so lively an interest, and which will hereafter be a matter of still greater curiosity. Posterity will look with wonder at the gigantic efforts of a state, which, with a population of 900,000, commenced, and, we trust we may soon say, finished, four hundred and twenty four miles of

canal, with all its immense embankments, noble aqueducts, and massive locks.

The line of the great western canal begins at Buffalo; then coasting the Niagara river till it meets the Tonawanta creek, pursues its bed for eleven miles, whence it takes a north-easterly direction to the township of Cambria, passing through the county of Niagara, and thence east through Genessee, Monroe, Ontario, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Madison, and Oneida. At Rome it approaches the Mohawk river, and thence, traversing Utica, follows the south side of the river till it joins the Hudson, at a position in the vicinity of Albany. The whole distance is three hundred and sixty three miles, and it has been divided into three sections. The first extends from the *embouchure* on the Hudson to Utica, one hundred and nine miles; the second, thence to Montezuma, ninety six; the third, thence to Buffalo, one hundred and fifty eight. On the first and second sections a very imperfect navigation has existed for some time. In the year 1792 the 'Western Inland Lock Navigation Company' was incorporated for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Mohawk and Seneca rivers, and opening a communication between both, by Wood creek and the Oneida lake. The company called Mr Weston, an English engineer, to their assistance; but the low state of their funds caused them to limit their operations to the Mohawk and Wood creek, which approaches within a very short distance of the former; and accordingly the locks at the Little Falls were built. The navigation remained in this situation for many years, obstructed by the rapidity of the river, and the periodical lowness of the water in the creek, which made it necessary to lighten the boats, and produced various other difficulties.

The first legislative proceeding on the subject was a resolution of the 4th February 1808, to explore and survey the country between lake Erie and the Hudson, for the purpose of ascertaining 'the most eligible and direct route for a canal between the tide-waters of the Hudson and lake Erie.' The motion was made by Joshua Forman, the member from Onondaga, in the state legislature. In a note communicated to Mr Haines, and added to the *Introduction*, it is stated, that this motion was not carried into effect. It appears, however, that six hundred dollars were appropriated, and that Mr James Geddes, an engineer, made a running level of the whole route, and discov-

ered various important facts connected with the general subject of his inquiries.* The project appears to have slept in the profoundest repose, till the patriotic suggestions of Thomas Eddy, Dewitt Clinton, and Jonas Platt once more called it from its slumbers. In March 1810, judge Platt, then a senator, offered a resolution that Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Dewitt Clinton, Simeon Dewitt, William North, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter be appointed commissioners to explore the whole route, take surveys, &c. The motion was seconded by Mr Clinton, and passed *unanimously.* The report of the commissioners, in pursuance of it, contained a full and convincing statement of the advantages of the proposed canal, and of its ultimate practicability. To this report we may probably ascribe much of that interest, manifested by a large portion of the people in favor of the measure, at a subsequent period. The commissioners discouraged the plan of a sloop navigation, and recommended that of barges, of from twenty to sixty tons. Indeed, by that plan, in order to save the expense of lading and unlading at either end of the canal, the cost would have been doubled. The peculiar adaptation of the *Ridge* (an elevation which crosses the whole of the western part of the state of New York, and descends gradually by successive plains to lake Ontario) to canal operations, was remarked. But the commissioners, considering that lake Erie was several hundred feet above the Hudson, suggested the application of the principles of an inclined plane. The saving of lockage, and the difference in the weight of the articles sent from, and brought into the interior, together with the advantage of the pure waters of the lake, gave some plausibility to an idea, which has been since abandoned. The commissioners, with great frankness, stated some difficulties in the route of the canal, the passage of the Seneca lake by an aqueduct eighty three feet high, and that at the mouth of the Cayuga, where the elevation is one hundred and eighty three feet. The valley is a mile broad, and a 'mound of sufficient heigth and breadth' to cross it was a work of enormous dimension. The expense of the Erie canal was estimated at $5,000,000, and that of the Champlain canal at $1,000,000. An enterprise of this description, to be undertaken by a state, whose permanent annual revenue was $274,359 77, whose whole revenue was only $619,299 29, and its expenditure

* See Watson's History of the Western Canals, p. 70.

nearly equalling its receipts, whose population only amounted to 959,220 souls, was certainly one of no trifling character.

It was therefore determined, not only on these grounds, but on others connected with more general views of public benefit and the national policy, to seek assistance from congress, as well as from those individual states, which were to be immediately benefitted. Among these the legislatures of Massachusetts and Ohio came forward with the most prompt and honorable expression of their opinion. Various negotiations and attempts proved fruitless to get from the United States, even a grant of land, to become absolute only upon the completion of the canals; till the commissioners, wearied by their assiduity, boldly submitted the question, whether 'the state of New York will continue a supplicant for the favor, and a dependent on the generosity of the union, instead of making a manly and dignified appeal to her own power.' That state decided for the latter, and it is now useless to inquire what the general government by that act may have lost, or New York acquired of wealth and honor.

Though the attention of many eminent men was still steadily fixed on that great object, which they conceived would be of material utility to the present generation, and confer infinite blessings on their posterity, the years of 1813-14-15 passed by, without witnessing the progress of the enterprise. The calamities of war, of which New York was then the theatre, the doubts of many good men as to the feasibility of the plan, and the sufficiency of the resources of the state, and the dissensions of party, in which unfortunately the canals became involved, almost entirely retarded their progress during the period we have mentioned. Among the enlightened friends of the canal policy of the state was the late *Robert Fulton*, a man, whose name is identified with that of his country, whose inventions, valuable as they are, were only the earnest of what he contemplated, whose benefactions to his country will be celebrated by every American, as long as the Mississippi shall bear her floating palaces upon her bosom, or roll her rich tribute to the ocean. In his letter of Dec. 8, 1807, to Mr Gallatin,* he demonstrated the superior advantage of canals over roads; and, taking the Lancaster road as an example, he showed that a ton, which cost ten dollars per one hundred miles for *wagoning*, might on a canal be carried for one dol-

* See American Register, vol iii p. 532.

lar; and that for thirty five dollars a ton, which must be paid for three hundred miles on the best of roads, the same could be boated three thousand five hundred miles, and thus 'resources be drawn from the centre of this vast continent.' He also entered into a very nice calculation to prove, that if canals were made with the surplus revenue of the government, the interior would be supplied cheaper with foreign articles, than if the duties were taken off, and transportation by roads continued. In the letter which he wrote to Mr Gouverneur Morris, at that time president of the board of canal commissioners, he applies the former calculations to the New York canal, and points out the great revenue to be derived from it, in a manner equally novel and striking.*

Mr Haines supposes that there are two thousand sloops on the Hudson, of forty five tons on an average. The custom-house, we understand, affords no accurate information on this subject; and, as it is possible that this amount is something too large, we will take Mr Fulton's calculation, made seven years since, of four hundred vessels of sixty tons burthen. The result will not affect the integrity of Mr Haines' calculation, which finally rests on a transportation of 450,000 tons per year. The truth, in our opinion, is a medium between both.

'If Hudson's river,' says Mr Fulton, 'collecting freight from its surrounding country, and an interior not more distant than Cayuga or Ontario, now bears on its waters near 400,000 tons per annum, where shall the mind be arrested? On what number of tons shall it dwell, when coming from the population of the next twenty years, and the countries which surround lake Superior, Michigan, Huron, and a canal of three hundred miles through a fertile country? Compared with the trade now on Hudson's river, it cannot be less than 1,000,000 tons each year; *and for the following reasons:* where the canal unites to the Hudson's river the man who lives ten miles from the river, and ten from the canal, will, when he has his produce in a wagon, go direct to the river; but he who lives thirty miles from the river, and five from the canal, will carry it to the canal; and he, who lives fifty miles from the river, will go thirty to the canal; he, who lives three hundred miles from the river, will wagon his produce one hundred miles to the canal. Thus the canal would draw in the trade of a country forming a triangle with a base line two hundred miles long, and from thence to the apex three hundred miles; equal to a range of country

* See the Life of Robert Fulton, by Cadwallader D. Colden, p. 275.

three hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide: or thirty thousand square miles: equal to acres 19,200,000
Lake Erie will draw in the trade for one hundred miles round its margin; Huron and Michigan from a like distance; lake Superior from one hundred and fifty miles; all of which may be estimated at 30,000,000
Total 49,200,000

a quantity, if I recollect right, not far short of the whole of England.' *Colden's Life of Fulton*, p. 281.

We may then fairly presume, that, in the lapse of a few years, the canal would produce five millions of dollars; thus quickly reimbursing the capital expended, and giving the state a noble revenue to be employed in other and greater improvements.

Mr Haines, from the amount of goods transported to Pittsburg and westward, from the number of tons already carried on the river, and from various other facts, which he has collected and exhibited in a very forcible manner, concludes that in a short period the amount of tonnage on the canal will be about a million; and when we contemplate the rapid increase of our population, the immense extent of country tributary to this canal, startling as is the proposition, we are not prepared to doubt it.

Such were the views entertained by some on the subject of internal improvement. At length, in February 1816, an appeal was made to the people; a meeting was held in the city of New York; it was large and respectable, and an able memorial, drawn up by the present chief magistrate of that state, was adopted and received numerous signatures. Though many of the best men then opposed the canals, its friends were not disheartened; and the final success of the project is doubtless to be attributed in a very considerable degree to the zeal and perseverance of that gentleman. From this moment the business proceeded with a rapid, but cautious step, till we now almost witness its completion, and the successful issue of a costly, but grand experiment. It is with such a prospect in view, and after having given a calculation as to the amount of tonnage on the canal, that the commissioners break forth in the following animated conclusion:

'Standing on such facts, is it extravagant to believe, that New York may look forward to the receipt, at no distant period, of one million dollars, net revenue, from this canal? The life of an indi-

vidual is short. The time is not distant, when those who make this report will have passed away. But no term is fixed to the existence of a state ; and the first wish of a patriot's heart is, that his own may be immortal. But whatever limit may have been assigned to the duration of New York, by those eternal decrees which established the heavens and the earth, it is hardly to be expected, that she will be blotted from the list of political societies before the effects here stated shall have been sensibly felt. And even, when by the flow of that perpetual stream, which bears all human institutions away, our constitution shall be dissolved, and our laws be lost, still the descendants of our children's children will remain. The same mountains will stand, the same rivers run. New moral combinations will be formed on the old physical foundations, and the extended line of remote posterity, after a lapse of two thousand years, and the ravage of repeated revolutions, when the records of history shall have been obliterated, and the tongue of tradition have converted (as in China) the shadowy remembrance of ancient events into childish tales of miracle, this national work shall remain. It shall bear testimony to the genius, the learning, the industry, and the intelligence of the present age.' *Documents*, p. 47.

It would be useless, and we are afraid annoying to most of our readers, if we were to trace further the progress of the canals. It is to be found in the volume before us, connected with a vast mass of facts, as interesting to the political economist, as they are valuable to the engineer. We shall merely say something as to their present state, and then pass to some views connected with their completion. The middle section of the western canal and a side cut of six miles were finished in 1819, and the water let in. The accuracy of the levels was proved, and an active and busy commerce immediately commenced. No toll was asked till the first day of July of that year, a period when at least half the transportation was accomplished ; the sum, however, of $5244.34 was received previous to the close of the season. The ground, as has been before remarked, is particularly favorable to canal operations. As a proof of this, we find, that on the middle section one level extends sixty nine miles and a half, a distance, which, if not unequalled, is certainly one of the most considerable in the world. On this section there are nine locks built in stone, and laid in an excellent water cement, *discovered in excavating the canal ;* one thousand five hundred and twenty feet of aqueducts, either entirely of stone, or composed of wood and stone ;

one thousand six hundred and thirty one feet of stone and iron culverts of various dimensions; and one thousand eight hundred and sixty feet of waste-wiers. It would appear also, that the ground is favorable in other respects, for it is stated, that from a point three miles west above the Little Falls, there is not a single yard of rock for two hundred and forty miles, which it will be necessary to remove. Means have been found to lessen those obstacles, which at first threatened great labor and expense to surmount; as, for example, at the Irondequot creek and the Genessee river. Already fine passage boats, provided with beds and other comforts, allure the traveller, and carry him along at the rate of four and even five miles an hour; and the agricultural products of Cayuga are found entering into competition with those of Duchess, in the market of New York.

What would otherwise be an object of considerable magnitude has dwindled into insignificance when compared with the Erie canal. We have not yet spoken of the Champlain canal. It opens a market to a very large part of New York and Vermont; and the masts, spars, lumber, &c. on the shores of the lake, have already acquired a value, of which the want of a communication with the sea-board before deprived them. The commissioners called the public attention to this canal in 1814. It extends from Whitehall to Waterford, and occasionally uses the bed of Wood creek and the Hudson. The cost of making it was estimated at $1,000,000. It is certain, however, that it will not amount to that sum. Though not finished, it afforded a passage in 1820; and in that year, imperfect as it was, there passed through it 159,000 boards, 98,000 plank, 13,000 cubic feet of pine timber, 10,000 do. of hemlock timber, 29 cords of tanners' bark, 24 do. of fire wood, 104,000 oak staves, 49,000 shingles, 3480 saw logs, 10,000 rails, 9000 cedar posts, and 8000 fence boards. A deficiency of water was, however, experienced on the summit level; and this circumstance and the construction of a number of locks have delayed the completion of the work. The whole length of the Erie and Champlain canals, when finished, will be four hundred and twenty four miles. Their width at the top is forty feet, and at the bottom twenty eight. The locks are ninety feet long and fourteen feet broad. The sum of $800,000 has been appropriated to the Champlain canal, and the estimated expense of both is $5,371,814.

It will not be uninteresting, we trust, to compare the cost of the Erie canal with that of others. Its average is $13,800 per mile. In England, the expenditure per mile may be taken at about $22,500.* Mr Gallatin gave the medium of American canals at $31,000. The Middlesex canal in Massachusetts cost $17,000 per mile. Compared, therefore, with the advantages conferred, we believe that the Erie canal is one of the cheapest ever constructed. The canal of Languedoc is no less the admiration of Europe, than the glory of the reign of Louis XIV; yet in its length, the magnitude of the interests it unites, the amount of commerce it bears upon it, it cannot enter into a comparison with the great western canal. The length of the former is one hundred and eighty miles, is six feet deep, and cost about $2,900,000 at a time when money was far more valuable than at present. Francis Andreossy, in his *Histoire du Canal du Midi*, gives 1,200,000 quintals, about 60,000 tons, as the average transportation upon it, and states that its net receipts per year (being the mean of six years, from 1786 to 1791) were $68,465. The corn which is embarked on the canal from Toulouse to Carcassonne, pays two thirds of this revenue. What then must be the importance of the Erie canal, commanding the fertile country which lines its banks, and that immense population on the lakes, to whose comforts and necessities it must minister? The imagination is startled by its own reveries, as it surveys the coasts of Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and traverses the rich prairies of Indiana, or the gloomy forests of Ohio. But we firmly believe that these bright anticipations will be converted into facts, and that our country will hereafter exhibit an inland trade, unrivalled for its activity, its value, and its extent.

As the success of the canals is no longer doubtful, and as they are about to create an era in the history of the union and the state of New York, it is not remarkable that there should be those, who are anxious to appropriate to themselves the honor of their original conception. The subject has excited considerable discussion, though we apprehend that it will be difficult indeed to decide in favor of the claims of any individual. Mr Elkanah Watson, in the year 1788, attended the Indian treaty at fort Stanwix, and in the autumn of 1791 travelled as far west as the village of Geneva, principally by

* See a treatise on the improvement of canal navigation, by R. Fulton, civil engineer, p. 29.

water. The diary of the latter journey was prepared for publication in 1793, but recent events alone have called it forth. In both of these journies, Mr Watson, whose mind had been turned towards canals both in Europe and America, seems undoubtedly to have directed his attention to the practicability of effecting an inland navigation to the great lakes. He launched his boat in Wood creek, and pursuing it to the Oneida lake, followed thence the course of the Onondaga and Seneca rivers to Cayuga lake. In the journal, speaking of Wood creek, we find such expressions as these, 'in contemplating this important creek as the only water communication with the immense regions in the west,' &c. *History, &c.* p. 31. And again, 'we are now sailing parallel with the Ontario ocean, which I hope to see;—and at least enjoy in delightful anticipation, the prospect of a free and open water communication from thence to the Atlantic, via Albany and New York.' p. 37. In addition to these remarks, there are estimates of the expense of removing obstructions and building locks at falls, &c. with some very general observations on the advantages which such an extensive navigation would afford, and the duty of the state to encourage its prosecution. The facts which Mr Watson had collected in his tour were made known to Gen. Schuyler, and had an influence in causing the passage of the act of 1791, 'concerning roads and inland navigation, and for other purposes.' Upon these principal grounds, Col. Troup has appeared before the public to support the claim already made by his friend, Mr Watson, to the exclusive merit of projecting the *canal policy* of New York. Now if by the canal policy of that state, is meant that system of internal communication, by which she promised herself many great and important advantages, we are inclined to think that the assertion cannot be maintained:—if it be intended to put forth Mr Watson as the author of the Erie canal, we imagine that the position is equally untenable.

The merit of a great original conception cannot be denied; but the talent of its possessor is frequently eclipsed by the improvements it afterwards undergoes, and the splendid combinations in which it is involved. The marquis of Worcester seems to have had the first crude notion of a steam-engine—Newcomen constructed one, but the name of Watt is immortalized in the history of the arts, as the efficient author of the invention. The application of steam to the propelling of

boats is not a new idea; nay, experiments were long since instituted to prove its efficiency. The bright and ample honor of our Fulton is that he succeeded where others failed, and that he carried into execution what others had abandoned, as impracticable and senseless. We cannot believe that Mr Watson was the first man who perceived the advantage of connecting the Hudson with lake Ontario, or that a fact so palpable to any person acquainted with the geography of the country, could be undiscovered till the year 1791. Indeed we know that during the colonial government, the subject of the Mohawk river was recommended to the assembly. It was perfectly idle at that time to talk of a canal, which should pass through forests, which resounded only with the yell of the savage. The peace of 1783 gave a new spur to enterprize, the white sentlements became more extended, and Mr Watson, with three other gentlemen, pursued only the natural course of those waters, which providence had granted for the convenience of a great country. From a point within two miles of the Mohawk on Wood creek (we might almost say, from the Mohawk itself, for in a wet season both streams have met) there is a navigation interrupted by occasional shallows and falls, to lake Ontario and westward to the Cayuga. Even at this early period it was used, for the journal says, p. 36, 'this morning we wrote home by a boat coming from the west, loaded with hemp raised at the south end of Cayuga lake.' Those gentlemen, who accompanied Mr Watson, must have been as sensible of the fact as himself, and no doubt wished with him to see, at some future day, the obstructions of the Seneca and Onondago rivers removed, and the falls of the Oswego locked. But we cannot imagine what room there was for projecting that which already existed, or to do more than improve a navigation already marked out, and even in partial operation.

It is apparent on the face of Mr Watson's remarks, as well as from Col. Troup's pamphlet, that Mr Watson's conceptions did not extend to a canal direct from lake Oneida to the Niagara river. His view, as far as we have discovered it, was the natural communication with lake Ontario, and it is never lost sight of in the course of his journey or in his report to Gen. Schuyler. As a proof of this, we beg leave to cite the following passages: 'A canal communication, from hence to Oswego harbor is necessary,—to complete the great chain of

water communication from Ontario to the Hudson.' *History, &c.* p. 40. 'The utmost stretch of our views, was to follow the track of nature's canal, and to remove natural or artificial obstructions; but we never entertained the most distant conception of a canal from lake Erie to the Hudson.' *Ibid. App. Note K.* p. 100. Now we conceive, that if there be any thing peculiarly imposing or advantageous in the canal operations of New-York, it is inseparably connected with the Erie canal, and that if Mr Watson's idea of joining lake Ontario with the Mohawk by the Oswego river had even been carried into effect, it would have been of little comparative utility to that state, and that instead of securing the commerce of the great lakes, that trade would have absolutely passed by its very doors. In that case, a country, which is exceeded by no other of the same extent in fertility, the western part of New York, in consequence of its remote situation, would have profitted little by the enterprize of her own citizens. The produce of the upper lakes, once on Ontario, would pursue its natural destination, the market of Montreal, for even the citizens of Cayuga county have found it their interest to carry their flour to that city. We ask then, would the commerce of the country between Cayuga lake and Buffalo, or that of the great inland seas beyond, ever have found its way to New York? A variety of considerations will show its impossibility; but we refer the reader to the irresistible arguments on this subject, contained in the *memorial*, *Documents*, p. 86. It appears, therefore, to us, that the great and vital principle of what is called the canal policy, was to divert into the bosom of our own people a trade, which was enriching our rivals, and carried on from our own shores, to open a market for the products of the western country, and finally to secure, *even if the falls of Niagara were locked*, by a cheaper route than that of lake Ontario, the commerce of the upper lakes and the territory which was contiguous to or bordering upon them. If we are correct in these statements, Mr Watson cannot claim the high honor of having originated the canal policy of New York. Such an exclusive honor, in cases of this kind, rarely belongs to an individual. It is the nature of human enterprises, which consist not in one lucky effort, but in a series of wise counsels, steadily pursued, through a great variety of measures, deliberative and active, that many should bear a part in the labor, and be entitled to a share of the credit. And

if truth and justice have obliged us to withhold from Mr Watson that exclusive honor in this case, which rarely belongs to any individual in any case, they equally oblige us to bear witness to his animated exertions in favor of the plans of uniting Wood creek and the Mohawk, and the Hudson and Lake Champlain. Doubtless the final passage of the act of 1792 was owing to the facts which had been collected in his journey of September 1791, and which were communicated to general Schuyler, the father of the measure. His powerful concurrence and zealous activity in these projects will always be mentioned with respect and remembered with gratitude.

With the information which we possess, we shall certainly not pretend to decide on so delicate and important a matter as the one before us. But we cannot conclude without noticing a fact, recorded p. 64 of the *History*, but with which we were before acquainted. The quick and grasping mind of that eloquent orator and profound statesman, Gouverneur Morris, was deeply imbued at least as early as the year 1800, with the supreme importance of a canal between lake Erie and the Hudson. He pours forth his magnificent auguries in the following enthusiastic language, in a letter to a friend in Europe:

'Hundreds of large ships will in no distant period, bound on the billows of these inland seas. Shall I lead your astonishment up to the verge of incredulity? I will. Know then, that one tenth part of the expense borne by Britain, in the last campaign, would enable ships to sail from London through Hudson's river into lake Erie. As yet, we only crawl along the outer shell of our country. The interior excels the part we inhabit, in soil, in climate, in every thing. The proudest empire of Europe is but a bauble, compared to what America may be—must be.'

These suggestions were by some regarded as the production of a romantic and ardent imagination; and there were those who too often lisped the accents of contempt, over what their courage was too faint to espouse, or their minds too insignificant to conceive. That great man lived, however, to bring the subject before the public—the luminous report of 1811 is the fruit of his powerful and disciplined intellect.

Mention is made in the History, &c. p. 67, of fourteen essays, which appeared in 1807 in a newspaper, and are attributed to Jesse Hawley Esq. of Rochester. The account there given makes us regret, that we have never been able to see them. The route of the canal is laid down, the distance

calculated, the expense estimated, as experience has since shown, with remarkable accuracy. Our readers will recollect, that this was before any legislative proceeding on the subject, and is, therefore, more worthy of observation on account of the minuteness of the details, the boldness of the conception, and the courage of supporting, that which was then esteemed a wild and extravagant attempt.

We proceed to make a few remarks upon the probable effects, which the great works we have been considering will have upon the interests of the United States, or upon those of that state, which has so strenuously and nobly prosecuted them. And, in the first place, we think that the internal commerce of a large portion of the union will undergo a very material change. Let us examine for a few moments the connexion of the western canal with other great points in our limits. By an artificial navigation of sixteen miles, the voyage from Buffalo to Pittsburgh would be uninterrupted. The communications between the Ohio and lake Erie are numerous and not difficult. 'A short cut would join the Muskingum, which discharges itself a hundred and seventy miles below Pittsburgh with the Cayahoga. The junction of the Scioto with the Sandusky, the Miami of the Lake with the Miami of the Ohio is practicable. Michigan and Erie may unite their waters by means of the river Raisin, while by the Chicago river which runs into the former, and a branch of the river Plein, a passage might be secured into the Illinois, and thence to the Mississippi. The latter route has been lately pointed out in a report made to the secretary of war.' *Introduct. to Doc. p. ix.*

The present cost of transportation across the mountains to Pittsburgh is $70 per ton. Now, by the western canal through the village of Erie to the head waters of the Ohio it is estimated at $35, and if there were a good road only at $28. If, therefore, it be true, that in three years the cost of wagoning to Pittsburgh amounted nearly to $5,000,000, there would have been a saving in either case of several hundred thousand dollars. It is stated in the *introduction*, (and we presume these results are the consequence of diligent inquiry,) that taking a section of 8000 square miles within forty miles of the Ohio and Sandusky as the depot, and charging land carriage to the various places of consumption, the canal would save at least $42 per ton, and in the north-east part of Ohio at least

$90 per ton, in the cost of conveyance. The effects are more palpable in the state of Illinois. Merchandise from Philadelphia or New Orleans, pays for carriage $130 per ton, but when the canal shall be finished, and a road of sixty miles made from the head of lake Michigan, a difference of $50 or $60 will immediately be felt. From all these considerations it will seem probable, that Philadelphia and Baltimore must yield a large portion of their present trade to their more fortunate rival.

The time must soon arrive, when that extensive territory from the Ohio to the great lakes, and from the Missouri to the borders of Pennsylvania, a country fertile and healthful, inhabited by a race of hardy and vigorous men, capable of supporting a population of enormous magnitude, a country, in comparison with which the fairest kingdom in Europe is almost sterile, will hereafter receive all which may supply its wants or add to its luxuries through New York, and will in return transmit, by the same channel, the rich fruits of an exuberant soil, owned and cultivated by a free population. New Orleans, great as she inevitably must be, will find her influence contracted, and will be obliged to bow to those great physical and moral causes, which have constituted New York the emporium of North America. If the contemplated canal across the state of Ohio (and what may we not expect from that young but powerful member of the republic) should be made, even the tobacco of Kentucky would find a cheaper passage on the smooth waters of the canal, than on the Ohio, obstructed by the falls of Louisville, or the Mississippi, at all times a tedious and dangerous navigation. The United States will feel the benefit of the canal in the improved value of the public lands in that quarter. Population will rapidly increase, and the Indian, ameliorated by the benign policy of the government, will be enclosed with the *cordon* of the white settlements, there we trust to enjoy the blessings of civilized life. The protecting force and paternal energy of the same power will then be extended to our frontier with ease and economy. On the seaboard we have nothing to fear; the fortifications now erecting, the perfection to which our navy is brought, and the characteristic gallantry of our seamen, afford an ample defence in that quarter. On our northern frontier we are more exposed; and that owing to the very difficulty of supplying the *materiel* of war. A piece of ordnance during the late contest with

England, delivered at lake Ontario, cost the country $2000, when its original price was only $400. These canals, therefore, while they will save thousands to the individual and the nation, are calculated to protect our borders from invasion, to secure the safety of our citizens, and guaranty the general welfare of the republic.

The state of New York, already one of the most powerful in the confederacy, is destined to become yet more so. Situated in a healthy climate, and in a commanding geographical position, with a hardy population of 1,300,000 souls, she has before her a most noble career. The profits of agriculture will be increased, the resources of the state improved, all its parts brought nearer to each other,* its population extended, and its power concentered and consolidated. She possesses great mineral riches; the beds of gypsum in Onondaga are not only extensive, but of the purest quality. It is an article of prime necessity in her agriculture, and will hereafter afford a regular source of profit, by exportation to the south. Already the lake fisheries have become a matter of importance, while the Champlain canal has led to the establishment of numerous forges in a country where the iron ore is said to be of an excellent quality.

The salt works at Salina are particularly deserving of attention. They already yield sixty or seventy thousand dollars to the state, the duty being twelve and a half cents per bushel. A single gallon of the water yields twenty-six ounces of salt, and the supply is inexhaustible. The Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Illinois salt is sold at the works, from four dollars to $7,50 per bushel; at Salina it can be sold at two dollars per bushel. What will be the future value of the salt springs to the state cannot be accurately foreseen; but already has this commodity been carried by land to Buffalo, and thence distributed along the banks of the lake. Hereafter it will supply the valley of the Ohio and Mississippi, and be exchanged for the fine marble and agricultural products of Vermont. As it is an article of the first necessity, the revenue to be derived from it will be a fund constantly increasing with the exigencies of a growing population.

The Champlain canal, though a considerable work, has been

* It was well remarked in the report of 1812, that 'the proposed canal would to every useful purpose produce the same effect, as if lake Erie were brought within forty miles of Hudson's river.'

lost in the magnitude of the other. It is, however, of no small importance. It diverts a valuable trade carried on from the northern part of Vermont to Montreal, and opens a market for the country, lying on the banks of lake Champlain. The immense forests of the North, which never yet felt the axe of the husbandman, will soon bow before his arm, and exchange their gloomy shades for the clear sunshine of the open field. The revenue of this canal, it is said, will produce enough to pay the interest of the capital employed in its construction, and to establish a sinking fund for extinguishing the principal. Thus, after some years, the state will enjoy a new income, to be expended in objects of public utility.

Whatever may be the force of the considerations we have urged in favor of these canals, we think that they are merged and lost in one which is paramount and superior to all, which is intimately connected with the character and conservation of our civil institutions, and our freedom and happiness as a nation. The government under which we live is emphatically a government founded on public opinion; it is an association which depends for its existence on the breath of the people. This constitutes one of its great distinguishing features; and though it is one of which we are justly proud, it is not without its perils. We cherish this pride, because it implies, nay more, requires an intelligent and patriotic population to support and defend such a system, to protect it from its own inherent weakness, to guard it against the attacks of an insidious lust of power, to maintain our fellow citizens in all the plenitude of legitimate and deputed command, but instantly to crush the man, like the reptile who crawls into our dwellings, who dares to usurp the *fasces* of authority which were never delivered to him by the people. But we are not only republics, but federated republics. We are bound together by a common charter, 'to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' This association was voluntary, and dictated by an experience of benefits under a previous confederacy. This union then depends upon the affections of the people; and it would be found, if they were once subtracted from it, how weak and ineffectual were the laws which bound us together.

Whatever, therefore, in addition to the civil ligaments of our union, superinduces those physical bonds which are ever most tangible to the minds of ordinary men, confers an infi-

nite benefit on the country, and a new vigor upon those institutions whose great object is the maintenance of the right of self-government. It is in this view then that we consider the great western canal of paramount importance. It connects the east with the west by a reciprocal and advantageous commerce, it brings the citizens of widely extended communities into frequent and regular intercourse. By it, the commodities of the one are transferred in a just and equitable exchange into the limits of the other; and thus a strong but mutual interest will ultimately unite them with a chain, which neither the fervors of party nor the mutual jealousy of states will ever be able to destroy. We rejoice that the prayers of good men seem to have been heard, and that the prophecies of those ignorant of our laws and the character of the people, or those unable to appreciate the excellence of both, are already shown to be false. The union of the states is our only safety. It protects and defends us, it secures respectability at home and abroad, it has raised the American name to an honorable elevation, and affords its invisible but omnipotent shield to every citizen, whether he navigates his bark upon the billows of the trackless ocean, or prosecutes his adventurous way among the naked and ferocious savages of the Missouri or Columbia. Every where may it be felt, surrounding us with its magic influence, till we almost lose the perception of its invaluable favors, in the regular and ample flow of its varied blessings. Remove it,—give an absolute independence to every state, and the promise of our youth is blasted, and with it the world's best hope laid low.

Influenced by these views, the state of New York has carried on those great improvements, in which certainly she has far outstripped any other member of the union. They will be a monument of her talent and her vigor, when contemplated by other generations. They are the noblest objects of a people's ambition, and the most permanent sources of their glory. When those transitory interests, which animate opposition, shall have passed away, when those miserable jealousies, which too often separate good and honorable men, shall all have been forgotten, these noble canals will remain to bless the memory of their authors, and distribute their benefits upon their posterity. In all human probability we do not yet perceive the full and complete advantages, which they are ultimately to produce. The changes they may cause, the aspect

they may give to our country, and the character they may impress upon our people are concealed beneath the mantle of time. These subjects will hereafter afford room for the research of the historian; at this moment they are hidden even from those who almost witness the close of the experiment, and the animating recompense of a patriotic and intelligent people. It is the prerogative of great minds to strike out those improvements, whose excellence, though appreciated at the time, is destined to be fully enjoyed in another age. The *cloaca maxima* is to this day the common sewer of Rome, and the acqueducts of the Campagna still supply to the eternal city, as they did centuries ago, the luxuries and the comforts of life. Their founders have long since ceased to exist, but these proud memorials of their genius remain; and when the statesmen who conceived the project of the Erie and Champlain canals, and that generation who completed them, shall have passed away, the tides of the Hudson will meet in fraternal accord with the waves which wash the shores of Chicago, or beat against the cliffs of Mackinaw :—the most powerful testimony to the force of an enlightened government, supported by a free and educated people.*

ART. XIII.—*Boylston Medical Prize Dissertations for the years* 1819 *and* 1821. *Experiments and observations on the communication between the stomach and urinary organs, and on the propriety of administering medicine by injection into the veins. By E. Hale, jun. M. D. M. M. S. S.* Boston, O. Everett and J. W. Ingraham, 1821. pp. 135.

DR HALE is already very favorably known to the public by a work, which he published some years since, containing a valuable account of the spotted fever, as it prevailed in the

* Since this article was sent to the press, and of course too late to be of service to us, we have seen a pamphlet, entitled 'the Canal policy of New York.' It consists of a series of letters published sometime since in the *Statesman*, under the signature of Tacitus, and now republished, with an introduction. We observe, moreover, in the reports of the proceedings of congress, that the assembly of Illinois have applied for national assistance toward constructing a canal from the river Illinois to lake Michigan, an enterprize which we have intimated to be practicable.

town of Gardiner, and by some experiments on respiration, which were communicated to the public in his Inaugural Dissertation. The dissertations at present before us contain an experimental examination of two curious and interesting subjects—one physiological—the other relating more immediately to practical results—and in their design and execution do equal credit to the ingenuity, diligence, and fidelity of their author.

These dissertations obtained the Boylston premiums for the years 1819 and 1821. These premiums are awarded by a committee appointed by the corporation of Harvard university, and are paid from funds appropriated by the individual whose name they bear, and to whose munificence, public spirit, and love of science, the college owes so many of its finest institutions. They have now been in operation for nearly twenty years, and have been eminently useful in exciting a spirit of emulation and a thirst for literary distinction among the younger members of the medical profession.

The first dissertation is upon a subject which has always excited some interest and much doubt among physiologists, the existence of a nearer passage for fluids from the stomach to the urinary bladder, than that through the circulation and kidneys. We have a thousand familiar examples, in which after taking liquids into the stomach, the quantity of urine is considerably increased within a very short period of time. Now, according to the ordinary course of substances received into the system, and the course which we should *a priori* suppose liquids as well as solids would take, they should be first acted upon by the stomach, if they were capable of undergoing any change from the influence of that organ, sent out into the intestines, absorbed by the lacteals, carried with the chyle into the circulation, and then separated from the circulating mass in the ordinary way by the kidneys. But this seems too long and indirect a process to be so completely effected in so short a time, that the odour or color of substances taken into the stomach shall be perceptible within from fifteen to thirty minutes in the urine: and, accordingly, anatomists and physiologists have at various times been occupied in searching for some other way, by which this operation might be effected.

As has been usual in all inquiries of the kind, a thousand vague conjectures and hypotheses have been broached, some supported by observation, or experiment, others founded upon mere surmise. Of these different opinions, the first part of

the dissertation gives us a sufficient account; from which it appears that a great majority of the authors, who have noticed this subject, have believed in the existence of a communication between the stomach and the bladder more direct, than that through the circulation and kidneys, though they differ much in their opinion as to the mode, by which this communication is effected. Indeed, when we examine the facts, the experiments, and the reasoning, which have been applied to the investigation of this subject, it excites little wonder that the truth has not been sooner arrived at.

The first step towards determining, with any certainty, the course which fluids take from the stomach, when they pass with such rapidity into the bladder, seems to have been taken by sir Everard Home. In a paper published in the Philosophical Transactions for 1808, he relates experiments performed on different animals, in which, after tying the pyloric orifice of the stomach, and injecting a fluid into it through the œsophagus, part of the fluid injected was found to have escaped, traces of it were discovered in the spleen, and chemical tests detected it in the urine. He believed, at this time, that the passage from the stomach was effected through the medium of the spleen, but subsequent observation convinced him to the contrary. In a paper published in 1811, he relates experiments, in which, after the extirpation of the spleen, and the tying of the thoracic duct, fluids injected into the stomach were detected in the bile and urine. And his conclusion of course is, that liquids, taken in large quantities into the stomach, do not pass the pylorus, but are taken up in the cardiac portion of that organ by some method, of which we are ignorant, and conveyed into the circulation.

These facts, supposing them sufficiently established by the experiments, tend clearly to show that the fluids taken into the stomach do pass into the circulation, and that the only point in which the course they take to the bladder is shortened, is in being absorbed into the circulation from the stomach, instead of going through the usual operations of that organ, and then being taken up from the intestines, as is the case with the other alimentary substances. Experiments of this kind, however, require to be frequently repeated before full faith can be reposed in the deductions made from them, and it would have been desirable that this should have been done with a view to the present investigation, but we cannot won-

der that Dr Hale should have been deterred from their repetition, by their excessive barbarity; and besides, from the experience and character of sir E. Home in this kind of investigation, they can be relied upon with as much confidence, as any single series of experiments ever can be.

The question then to be determined is, whether, having once got the fluids in this summary way into the circulation, they may not in the ordinary course of the functions be found in the bladder after the short period of time in which this is known to take place, without the necessity of supposing any more direct passage. The object of Dr Hale is to show that they may, and in this we conceive he has perfectly succeeded.

With this view it was first necessary 'to ascertain what length of time it would require, for fluids to be carried from the stomach to the bladder, through the medium of the circulation. This can never be ascertained with any degree of precision; yet some approach to the knowledge desired may be made by estimating the rapidity and force of the blood in circulation.' p. 39. Supposing the whole quantity of blood in the body to be thirty pounds, and that thrown out at each contraction of the ventricle, which happens at least seventy times in a minute, to be two ounces; the complete circulation of any one definite portion of blood would be accomplished, according to Dr Hale, in three minutes and twenty-five seconds; and calculating the quantity thrown out at each contraction at only one ounce and a half, the period would be only extended to five minutes and one second. Now, 'the distance from the stomach to the kidneys, through the circulation, is that from the stomach to the heart, through the lungs, back to the left side of the heart, and from the mouth of the aorta to the mouth of the emulgent arteries. This at the most, cannot be supposed to exceed one half of an entire revolution; and is probably less than one fourth. The time requisite, therefore, as far as the circulation is concerned, for fluids to pass from the stomach to the kidneys, is not more than from two to three and a half minutes, leaving the remainder of the time which actually intervenes between their being taken in drink, and ejected in urine for their absorption in the stomach, and their secretion and excretion in the kidneys and bladder.' pp. 40, 41.

This calculation, which is certainly within bounds, shows sufficiently that there is nothing at all improbable in supposing

the passage of fluids to be effected through the circulation and kidneys. And this being the natural course, the burden of proof clearly lies upon the other side; and had no question ever existed upon the subject, no further investigation would have been esteemed necessary. Dr Hale has, however, by a few well designed experiments, added new certainty to these conclusions. It is unnecessary to enter into any detail of these experiments; the results to which they lead we shall state in his own words.

'1. The speedy discharge of watery urine after taking a large quantity of liquid in drink, is not occasioned by sympathetic excitement of the urinary organs, but by the actual excretion of the fluid received.

'2. The same portions of fluid, which are received into the stomach, begin, under certain circumstances at least, to be collected in the bladder within twenty minutes from the time when they are taken.

'3. When a large quantity of fluid is taken, the excretion of urine is greatly increased; but the increase does not bear any very exact proportion to the quantity of drink. The increased discharge begins in about twenty minutes, is at its height in about an hour, and terminates, generally, in less than two hours.

'4. When a liquid, which is colored with rhubarb, is taken, the color of the rhubarb appears in the urine; and its appearance in that excretion is not at all confined to the time of the increased discharge, which is occasioned by the quantity of fluids received.

'5. When a liquid, which is of such a nature as to admit of ready detection in the animal fluids, is taken into the stomach, if the quantity is sufficiently large to affect the whole mass of blood, it will be found in the blood drawn from the veins, as soon as in the urine; although it will continue to appear in the urine after it has disappeared from the blood.

'6. When a quantity of coloring matter, sufficient to affect the whole mass of blood is taken, mixed with a large quantity of liquid, the color appears in the urine, as soon, at least, as the excretion *begins* to be increased, and is at the deepest before the increase of urine is at its height; but if the quantity of coloring matter be only a little more than sufficient to tinge the amount of liquids taken, it does not appear in the urine until after a considerable quantity of watery urine has been passed, and does not give its deepest color until some time after the excretion has diminished.' pp. 56—58.

'7. The rapidity, with which fluids pass from the stomach to the bladder, is not increased by increasing their quantity.'

'8. It results from the whole, that the only mode by which

fluids received into the stomach can pass into the bladder, is by absorption into the blood, and subsequent secretion by the kidneys.' p. 61.

The second dissertation, upon the propriety of administering medicine by injection into the veins, derives a peculiar interest, from the circumstance of one of the experiments having been performed upon the person of the author. Injections of various substances into the veins and arteries of animals have been frequently practised for the purpose of determining various physiological facts, and sometimes with the view of ascertaining the probable effects of medicines introduced in this way into the system; yet little seems, so far, to have been done to settle the question as to the expediency of the practice. Some instances are related by Dr Hale, in which medicines were injected into the veins, nearly two hundred years ago, to whose efficacy effects truly marvellous were attributed. On these, however, and with good reason, he places but little reliance.

There is a great difference in the effects of foreign substances according to the part of the circulating system into which they are first introduced and the organ to whose vessels they are first distributed. When the injection is made into the carotid artery, so that the first contact is upon the brain, almost every thing, even venous blood and serum, produces instant death. Water alone, or some substance very much diluted with it, can be introduced with impunity. In other parts of the arterial system, however, where the blood is first distributed to other organs of a less delicate structure and a less important function, the consequences are not necessarily fatal. Into the veins, a great variety of substances may be injected without danger to the life of the animal employed, although, generally speaking, some sensible effects are produced by their presence in the circulating system. 'I have injected into the jugular veins of many dogs,' says Bichat, 'bile taken from the gall bladder of other dogs, which I opened at the same time. For the first few days they appeared to be weary, did not eat, were much altered, their eyes were heavy, and they were constantly lying down; but after some time, they gradually regained their former vigor. I afterwards employed human bile in these experiments; the result was the same, except that many times the animal had hiccough and vomiting some time after the injection. In one instance a dog died in

three hours after the experiment; but it was because I made use of that extremely black fluid, that is sometimes found in the gall-bladder instead of bile.'

The same experiments were repeated, with the substitution of saliva and nasal mucus suspended in water for the bile, and with similar but less marked effects. Urine, of the strongest kind, was also injected in a number of instances. It was fatal in only one, and that upon the seventh day; but the animals were usually made much sicker by it, than by the other substances employed.

'There is no doubt,' says the same writer, 'that the different substances which can be introduced with the chyle into the blood, may be the cause of various diseases. Is it not the blood which carries to the brain the narcotic principles which produce sleep? Does it not carry turpentine and cantharides to the kidneys, mercury to the salivary glands, &c.? Inject opium, wine, &c. into the veins, and you will stupify the animal, the same as if you had given them by the stomach. Physiologists were, at one time, much engaged with the introduction of medicinal infusions into the veins of living animals. They circulated, by these infusions, purgatives, emetics, and a thousand other foreign substances, the contact of which the blood bore, without occasioning any other accident to the animal, than that of vomiting or alvine evacuations, if they were emetics or purgatives, and a greater or less general derangement, if they were other foreign substances, which had no affinity with any particular organ. The caustics, as the nitric and sulphuric acids, and other very irritating substances, have alone caused death in these curious experiments.'

Of the results of all the various experiments, which have been performed by different individuals, with regard to the injection of fluids into the veins, Dr Hale observes, 'that they are different in different cases, and sometimes give rise to opposite inferences; but the general effect of the whole is to lead to the belief, that the effects of medicinal substances are not materially different, in consequence of the modes of their introduction into the system.'

The experiments of Fontana, for instance, offer different results from those obtained by Brodie, Magendie, and Orfila, in their investigation of the effects of the different poisons, when introduced into the circulation.

Fontana, as quoted by our author, found that the oil or wa-

ter of the cherry laurel, although a virulent and deadly poison when taken into the stomach, is almost inert when taken into the circulation by a wound or by injection into the veins. Brodie, Magendie, and Orfila, however, found that arsenic or tartar emetic, when injected into the veins, produced nearly the same effects, as when taken into the stomach, except that they were more violent in degree. The opposite results of these different physiologists are, we conceive, attributable to the different nature of the substances employed, Fontana having used a vegetable, and the other individuals mineral poisons in their experiments. The striking differences between the different classes of poisons are sufficiently well known.

The experiments of Dr Hale were performed, with one exception, upon rabbits, and the substances injected were some of the common articles of the materia medica. Comparative trials were instituted, in which the same articles were administered by the mouth, in order to ascertain precisely their relative operation. In the first experiment two rabbits were taken, and two drachms of castor oil administered to each—to one by injection into the vein, to the other in the usual way. On the latter, no sensible effect was produced. In the former, copious operation took place from the bowels, which continued for some hours. A few days after this experiment, the same animals were made the subject of another, in which a drachm and a half of an infusion of rhubarb was injected into the veins of the one which swallowed the oil in the former experiment, and two drachms of the same infusion administered by the mouth to the other, who had previously undergone injection; in the latter, a slight operation took place within the next twenty-four hours—but in the other, no sensible effect was produced.

The sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth experiments were occupied in ascertaining the effects of medicinal substances when taken into the stomach of rabbits. Six drachms of an infusion of colocynth, containing the strength of about twenty-two grains of that drug—four drachms of an infusion of ipecacuanha of about the same strength—four drachms of an infusion of rhubarb—two scruples of ipecacuanha in powder, were successively given to different subjects, without any operation which could decidedly be pronounced to be produced by the medicine; certainly none upon the stomach. Ten grains of tartar emetic were then administered without

any sensible operation, but the next morning the animal was found dead.

In the eleventh experiment twenty grains of calcined magnesia were intended to be injected in five drachms of water. Scarcely half a drachm of the mixture was thrown in before convulsions ensued, and death was produced in less than four minutes. Death followed with equal rapidity after the injection of two drachms of undiluted alcohol, though the same animal had a few moments before borne two drachms of a mixture of equal parts of alcohol and water, without any very serious effects. A drachm and a half of a solution of tartrite of potass and soda was borne without any bad consequences, and seemed to cause a slight operation upon the bowels; but two drachms of the sulphate of magnesia, dissolved in half an ounce of water, caused death before one third of the quantity could be injected. The injections were all made into the jugular vein.

But the most interesting and important experiment was that performed upon his own person; and it is, we believe, the only well authenticated one, in modern times at least, in which any medicinal substance has been injected into the veins of the human subject. The substance selected in this instance was castor oil, and the quantity, half an ounce, a small dose for an adult. This was thrown in at an opening made in one of the veins of the arm, commonly selected for bleeding, and at the temperature of about seventy degrees. The intrepidity, resolution, and perseverance with which this experiment was designed and performed were not a little remarkable; and it was accomplished under circumstances of difficulty and embarrassment, which would have made almost any operator, particularly in his own person, shrink from following up his undertaking. His sensations after the experiment are best detailed in his own words.

'I felt very well for a short time after the operation was finished. The first unusual sensation that I perceived, was a peculiar feeling, or taste of oiliness in the mouth, a little after twelve o'clock,' (about ten minutes after the oil had been completely injected,) 'very soon after, while I was washing the blood from my arm and hands, and was talking in very good spirits, I felt a slight nausea with eructations, and some commotion in the bowels, then a singular and indescribable feeling seemed very suddenly to ascend to my head. At the same instant, I felt a slight stiffness of the muscles of the face and jaw, which cut short my speaking in

the middle of a word, accompanied by a bewildered feeling in my head, and a slight faintness. I sat down, and in a few moments recovered myself a little.' pp. 114, 115.

For two hours after the completion of the experiment, Dr Hale continued to experience a strange sensation in his head, a degree of nausea, the oily taste in his mouth, and a tendency to alvine evacuation evinced by wandering pains &c. in his bowels, but without any real operation. The former symptoms left him after this period, but these deceptive feelings in the bowels remained through the evening, though there was no operation at any time, which could be attributed to the oil.

The next day some unpleasant symptoms ensued of a different character.

'I had some pain in the head, and was all day much inclined to chilliness, though without true rigors. My arm was quite painful through the day. I had some fever and loss of appetite, and felt altogether too ill to make any use of my faculties, either of body or mind. This state continued several days; and when I began to recover from it, I found my strength so much diminished, that it required two or three weeks to restore it to its former vigor.' p. 118.

These symptoms, we conceive, however, and we presume Dr Hale to be of the same opinion, are to be in a very considerable degree attributed to the sympathy of the system with the injury to the arm occasioned by the operation, and not to the effect of the presence of the oil in the circulation. They were not different in their nature, nor greater in degree, than might be expected from the violence done to the parts about the vein. And although they would not be necessarily always the consequence of such an operation, yet so great is the probability of their occurrence, as to form an almost insurmountable objection to the adoption of the practice.

But in addition to these unpleasant consequences, there seems to be sufficient ground on other considerations to relinquish the expectation of finding in the injection of medicines into the veins, an advantageous mode of introducing them into the system.

'On a review of the whole subject,' says Dr Hale, 'we find that the evacuations, occasioned by the operation of emetics and cathartics, might be procured quite as effectually, and even more so, by injecting them into the veins, as by introducing them into the stomach; but that it would be dangerous in the extreme to administer in this manner any of the emetics, or of the more power

ful cathartics; and that the injection of even the milder cathartics is attended by much more pain and inconvenience, than can be counterbalanced by any advantages that it seems to promise. We must, therefore, regard this mode of administering medicines as too full of dangers to be entitled to confidence.' p. 135.

In this conclusion we perfectly agree, and presume that few, after the experience of Dr Hale, will be inclined to put it again to the test of experiment, either on themselves or others. For all practical purposes, there can be little room for difference of opinion about the expediency of adopting the injection of medicinal substances as a means of curing diseases. Whatever may be the results of this operation upon other animals, they never can inspire sufficient confidence to justify us in making our fellow beings the subjects of such a series of severe and hazardous experiments, as would be necessary in order to establish the practice upon a sure basis; so that even were it determined as a matter of physiological interest, that similar results follow from the injection of medicinal substances, in man as in other animals, we conceive that few would be hardy enough to take upon themselves the risk and responsibility of the operation, in cases of disease.

Dr Hale states very candidly, in his introduction, some of the objections to experiments upon living animals, and observes, with great truth, that 'thousands of animals have died in the cause of physiological science, whose deaths have scarcely added any thing to our knowledge of the laws or properties of the human system.' Now we are not all disposed to deny, that there are questions in physiology which can only be decided by means of experiments on living animals; and such experiments, when performed in the course of a regular train of investigation, may be made to throw much light upon some of the dark points in the science of life. But their necessity and importance has been, we conceive, very much overrated. They have been and are resorted to as modes of proof upon the most trivial occasions, and too often unlimited confidence has been placed upon the deductions drawn from them, when they least deserved it.

Experiments have an imposing air when brought in support of any opinion, and they are too apt to command our implicit belief, without a sufficient examination of their claim to it. Yet surely men are as liable to be mistaken in the results of the experiments they perform, as they are to be wrong in the opin-

ions they hold. Before we give full faith to deductions from experiments made upon living animals, we ought to assure ourselves that the operator is competent to the undertaking. The qualities necessary to it are rarely to be met with; one should have, not only the anatomical knowledge and manual dexterity of the most accomplished surgeon; but a thorough acquaintance with the whole science of physiology, and more especially of the particular subject before him. He should add also to these qualifications a clear, unprejudiced, and philosophical mind, capable of drawing accurate inferences from the phenomena that occur. Yet these circumstances are seldom taken into consideration, and an *experiment* would be received as conclusive from a quarter, whence an *opinion* merely would meet with little regard. But it should be recollected, that there are probably more men qualified to form an *opinion* deserving of attention, than to perform an *experiment;* the latter presupposing even more rare qualities than the former. And, besides, when we decide between the comparative value of opinion and argument on the one hand, and experiment upon the other, we ought to consider that we are more competent judges of the former, than of the latter; we can estimate the weight and importance of men's arguments, and the grounds of their reasoning; but we cannot their powers of observing accurately, or of reporting truly. Hence the remark, we believe of Dr Cullen, that there were more false facts than false theories in medicine, is found abundantly true.

The zeal for matter of fact philosophy, which is so prevalent among some at the present day, makes it necessary that much caution should be used in placing dependence upon its results. This philosophy, when implicitly relied on, is fully as dangerous to the cause of truth as the theoretical, or even more so. Men generally *theorize* upon common and acknowledged facts, so that others can detect the fallacy of their opinions, if they are fallacious; but when they pretend to have opened a new field in nature and to found opinions upon discoveries made by themselves, the evil is more difficult to be remedied, because in such cases we commonly have just as much theory built upon facts, of the evidence for which we are not competent judges. We find, in truth, that experiments, apparently conclusive, are brought in favor of the most opposite opinions; and it would seem as if men formed their opinions first, and then looked about for experiments to support them. It seems impossible, after even the laceration occasioned by

the preparation for an experiment, and especially after the lesion or separation of the noble organs which are so frequently the subjects of them, that life should retain enough of the harmony, regularity, and consistency of its operations, for us to judge with certainty of the principles and laws, by which they are governed. Such, it appears to us, must be the disturbance among those functions, whose mutual relation is their mutual support, by so great violence to any of them, that no legitimate inferences can be drawn from the phenomena which occur.

We have only to look at the history of some physiological questions for evidence of the truth of these remarks; in which, after some important facts have been brought to light with regard to them by men of genius, they have been involved in fresh darkness by the accumulation around them of a mass of ill-contrived and ill-digested experiments. Let us not be mistaken; we do not intend to deny, that experiments upon living animals, performed by those competent to the task, with relation to subjects which are capable of being illustrated in this way, and without such injury and laceration of organs as throw into complete disorder all the functions of the system, may be of much service in enlightening some parts of the science of physiology. But when they are performed in the mere wantonness of philosophy, with scarce any other definite object, than that of gaining a name by eliciting some striking phenomena in the struggles of nature, which shall have the air of important discoveries, they are useless at best.*

* That we do not exaggerate in speaking on this subject, we think will be made evident by the following sketch of some *interesting* experiment on vomiting, performed within a few years at Paris.

M. Magendie, in order to prove that the stomach was inert in the act of vomiting, asserts, that when two fingers were introduced through an incision into the abdomen, the stomach was found not to act itself, but to be compressed between the diaphragm and abdominal muscles; that if the incision was enlarged so as to bring the stomach out of the wound, vomiting ceased, and the stomach remained quiet, although tartar emetic was injected into the veins: that if the abdominal muscles are cut away, vomiting is still produced by the compression of the stomach against the linea alba by the diaphragm, but that if this latter organ be incapacitated by dividing the phrenic nerves, vomiting is at an end. To crown all, M. Magendie removed the stomach, substituted a pig's bladder, which he connected with the œsophagus, and then having sewed up the abdomen, injected tartar emetic into the veins, and succeeded in producing vomiting.

So far all seems very well; but another inquirer, M. Maingault, having taken up the same subject, arrived by experiments performed like Magendie, on living animals, at results directly opposite. He succeeded in producing vomiting, by strangulating an intestine, and by injecting tartar emetic, after dividing the abdominal muscles, cutting them off from the body, dividing the

There are other sources of investigation, from which, if we are willing to resort to them, we can derive nearly all the information and the facts which we need. Nature presents, in the different kinds of animals, the organs and functions so variously constructed and so variously combined, that by tracing out their history accurately through all their varieties, we can come at the truth on most difficult subjects, as well as by having recourse to experiments upon living animals. Nature, in fact, does that which is equivalent to the experiments we perform, by presenting to us, in different classes of animals, the organs in those combinations and under those relations and circumstances, which it is the object of our operations to establish. Thus, it has been doubted by some, whether the bile were formed in the liver, or in the gall-bladder, or in both. How are we to proceed, if we would settle the question by experiment on living animals? We must lay open the abdomen and dissect out the liver, or tie the duct which communicates it with the common biliary canal, or have recourse to some other expedient more ingenious still. How does Haller decide this question? By comparative anatomy. 'It is found,' says he, 'that in many, even large animals, true bile is prepared by a liver alone, without any gall-bladder. That, on the other hand, no animal has a gall-bladder, without having also a liver—and none a gall-bladder so far separated from the liver, but that it is either connected with it directly or communicates with its excretory duct. We conclude then, that a liver, is necessary for the secretion of bile, but that a gall-bladder is not necessary—and that it passes from the liver into the gall-bladder.' Now who will doubt which method of investigation is most likely to give a satisfactory result? We are convinced that many subjects which still remain involved in obscurity, notwithstanding the innumerable experiments made upon living animals in order to illustrate them—and we may mention particularly the functions and relations of the nervous system—might be placed in a much clearer point of view, by throwing upon them the light which may be derived from the careful study of comparative anatomy and general physiology.

phrenic nerves, and even after completely removing the diaphragm itself. *Memoire sur le Vomissement*, 1813.

We know of no way of reconciling conclusions so diametrically opposite, from a course of investigation so similar in each case; and fear there is no other mode of deciding the controversy, but by engaging afresh in the perpetration of these truly edifying experiments.

QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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The Farmer's Assistant; being a digest of all that relates to agriculture, and the conducting of rural affairs; alphabetically arranged, and adapted to the United States. By John Nicholson Esq. of Herkimer county, state of New York. Second edition, corrected and enlarged. Albany.

The American Gardener. New York.

The American Orchadist; or a practical treatise on the culture and management of apple and other fruit trees. By James Thacher M. D. 8vo. Boston.

The Farmer's Manual; a plain and practical treatise on the art of husbandry; designed to promote an acquaintance with the modern improvements of agriculture; together with remarks on gardening, and a treatise on the management of bees. By Frederick Butler. New York.

Fine Arts.

Picturesque Views of American Scenery. Engraved by Hill, from drawings by Joshua Shaw, landscape painter. Philadelphia.

Washington's Farewell Address. Splendidly engraved by Fairman, &c. Philadelphia.

Hudson's River Port-folio. New York.

Biography.

La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, y de sus fortunas y adversidades. Por Don Diego Hustado de Mendoza. Neuva edicion. Philadelphia.

The Life of Michael Martin, who was executed for highway robbery Dec. 20, 1821; as given by himself. Boston.

Botany.

A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia. By Stephen Elliott. No. VI. Charleston.

An Essay on the History and Cultivation of the European Olive Tree; written at the request of Mr Micheaux. By Augustus L. Hillhouse, a citizen of the United States. Philadelphia,

Chemistry.

A Dictionary of Chemistry on the basis of Mr Nicholson. By Andrew Ure M. D. First American edition, with some additions, and notes, and corrections. By Robert Hare M. D. assisted by Franklin Bache M. D. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia.

A Manual of Chemistry. By William Thomas Brande. First American, from the second London edition; to which are added notes and emendations. By William James Macneven M. D. 8vo, New York.

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A Compendious Treatise on the use of globes and maps. By John Lathrop jr. A. M. a new edition. Boston.

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Conversations on the Bible. By a Lady of Philadelphia. 2 vols. Philadelphia.

Address to the Graduates of the South Carolina College, Dec. 1821. By President Cooper. Columbia, S. C.

Review of the plan of Education in South Carolina. Columbia.

The System of Mutual Instruction, simplified and adapted to the United States. By William A. T. Dale. Boston.

A self-explaining Grammar of the English language. By E. Cobb. First and second editions. Boston.

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A description of the island of St Michael; comprising an account of its geological structure. With remarks on the other Azores or Western Islands, originally communicated to the Linnæan Society of New England. By John W. Webster M. D. Boston.

A New Universal Gazetteer, or geographical dictionary. By Jedidiah Morse D. D. S. H. S. and Richard C. Morse A. M. Third edition, revised and corrected. New Haven.

History.

Sketches of the Early History of Maryland. By J. W. Griffiths. Baltimore.

History of Massachusetts. By a citizen of Massachusetts. Boston.

An Universal History, from the beginning of the world to the empire of Charlemagne. By M. Boussuet. Translated from the thirteenth edition of the original. By Mr Elphistone. Philad.

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A General Index to the Virginia Reports. Richmond.

Wheaton's Reports. Vol. VI. New York.

Medicine.

Chapman's Elements of Therapeutics and Materia Medica. Second edition, greatly improved and enlarged. 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia.

New York Medical Repository of original essays and intelligence relative to physic, &c. No. 1, vol. VII. New Series for October. New York.

Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences. Edited by N. Chapman M. D. Nos. 4 & 5, vol. II. Philadelphia.

Eclectic Repertory and Analytical Review; medical and philosophical. Edited by a society of physicians. New Series, No. 4. Philadelphia.

Boylston Medical Prize Dissertations, for the years 1819 and 1821. By E. Hale jr. M. D. Boston.

The American New Dispensatory. By James Thacher M. D. Fourth edition. Boston.

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Regulations of the army of the United States. By Maj. Gen. Scott. Published under authority of congress. Washington.

The Militiaman's Pocket Companion; &c. By Joseph Lord, Brigade Major and Inspector, Columbia county, N. Y. New York.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. XXXV.

NEW SERIES, No. X.

APRIL 1822.

ART. XIV.—*The Comedies of Aristophanes. By T. Mitchell, A. M. late fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Vol. I.* London, 1820.

IT cannot, of course, have escaped the notice of our readers, that the character of Aristophanes and the remains of his comedies have of late attracted much attention abroad. The way was prepared for the volume, of which we have just named the title, by a very elaborate and able essay on the Grecian philosophy and the Clouds of Aristophanes, in the Quarterly Review for September 1819. The same topics or kindred discussions on the manners of the Athenians, to which the remains of the ancient comedians furnished abundant materials, have also been admirably treated, in subsequent numbers of the same journal. With this preparation, the first volume of Mitchell's Aristophanes came forth, and was, on its appearance, most ably noticed in the Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews; and we venture to say, that through the medium of these popular vehicles of information, more knowledge of the Greek comedy and of its literary remains has been diffused throughout the reading community, both in England and in this country, than was ever before accessible to any but professed scholars, and those of laborious research. Did we not think that some important errors had also been diffused through

these same vehicles, we should have esteemed it altogether a work of supererogation, to ask the attention of our readers anew to a subject made so familiar to them, by the journals just mentioned. But feeling ourselves wholly unprepared to go to the extreme of the new school on this topic, we have ventured to appeal to the attention of the American literary public, with not a little fear, however, that their curiosity is nearly exhausted.

What the commonly received opinion of Aristophanes is or was, we scarcely need say. So learned and elegant a scholar, as bishop Hurd, calls him, 'that buffoon.' Dr Gillies, who, if his own taste be entitled to no preeminent respect, may be considered as an adequate representative of the taste of his contemporaries, speaks of Aristophanes, as 'one of a class of men, who were the declared enemies, not only of Socrates and his disciples, but of all order and decency;' adding in the course of the same chapter, 'that Aristophanes and his associates, having previously ridiculed virtue and genius, in the persons of Socrates and Euripides, boldly proceeded to avail themselves of the natural malignity of the vulgar, and their envy against whatever is elevated and illustrious, to traduce and calumniate Pericles himself; and though his successors in the administration justly merited the severest lashes of their invective, yet, had their characters been more pure they would have been equally exposed to the unprovoked satire of those insolent buffoons, who gratified the gross appetites of the vulgar, by an undistinguished mass of ridicule, involving vice and virtue, things profane and sacred, men and gods.'* La Harpe, in his agreeable chapter on the Greek comedy, inclines to adopt the opinion of Plutarch against Aristophanes, expressed in his famous comparison between this master of the old comedy and Menander, to which comparison we shall revert, in the course of our observations. In obstinately adhering, however, to the epithet of *satirist*, applied to Aristophanes, and considering him in that character alone, La Harpe gives a striking instance of his own habitually superficial views. The conception which Barthelemi appears to have formed of the comedian, (though somewhat disguised by the oppressive fictions, with which he carries on the plot of his Anacharsis, to the irreparable injury of what would else have been so perfect a work,) is in the main rational, and appears to have been

* Gillies' History of Greece, chap. xiii.

formed from a fair examination of the contrasts in his character. From this opinion, Mr A. W. Schlegel dissents. Having remarked in the text, that 'care must be had not to regard the *old comedy* as the rude beginning of the subsequently more improved comic representation,' he adds in a note, that the chapter in the Anacharsis is composed on this idea of the ancient comedy, and then pronounces this chapter one of the most unsatisfactory and unsuccessful in the work. This, however, we do not admit:—Barthelemi is a stranger to those penetrating views of antiquity, which have been taken by the new school in Germany, and by none more successfully than Mr Schlegel; but we do not perceive any remarkable deficiency in the chapter in question. How far back the following judgment of professor Dalzel is to be dated, the nature of the work, from which it is taken, does not enable us to ascertain. It has excited our surprise, however, to find a judgment so extremely old-fashioned, not to say superficial, in a work published during the last year. His words are, 'we have a considerable number of the comedies of Aristophanes still remaining, but they are so full of ribaldry and buffoonery, that I can scarcely recommend them to your perusal, unless on account of the Attic Greek, in which they are written.——I have already observed, that at Athens, there were people of every sort of character. Among the lower sort there were great numbers, remarkable for their vanity and inconstancy, their want of respect for religion, their insolence and vice of every sort, and readier to laugh at a coarse and immoral joke, than to be instructed by useful truth. It was to people of this stamp that Aristophanes chose to address himself. He was malignant and satirical, and, at the same time, had a gayety of wit, which recommended him to the mob. The comedies of Aristophanes then ought to be considered as abuses of this sort of composition.'* Whatever be thought of the justice of this, as far as the character of Aristophanes is concerned, we do not remember to have seen a more striking example of vagueness and feebleness, than these few lines betray; and we are sorry to add, they afford but too faithful a sample of a work, from which we had promised ourselves instruction and pleasure.

We have gathered together these few judgments on the subject of Aristophanes, for the sake of reminding our readers more exactly of the prevailing tone of opinion, before it had

* Dalzel's Lectures, vol. ii. p. 146.

been, in very late times, a little shaken ; and for this reason, we have chosen popular writers, rather than professed critics. We come now to the reverse of the picture. The close of the last century in Germany was signalized by two things in the study of ancient literature apparently disconnected, nay opposite in their nature, but each pushed, and often by the same individual, to a distinguished point of excellence ;—we mean, on the one hand, minute, grammatical, and verbal study of the ancient remains, rivalling, if not exceeding, the most painful school of Dutch philology ; and on the other hand, the most keen and philosophical spirit, penetrating into the inmost character of the ancient literature, and scrutinizing the condition in which its monuments exist, with a severity before unapproached. Bentley alone, of all the preceding critics, had given a foretaste of this admirable compound of humble erudition and soaring criticism, and it is painful to consider that this divine scholar was the subject of all the obloquy and hatred, nay, of the affected contempt of his colleagues. It was reserved for a subsequent age to do him justice ; and it has abundantly done it : and no one now, who traces his ancestry to England, and whose taste is devoted to the Grecian muses, but blushes to think that the names of Bentley and Boyle were ever coupled as antagonists. But though Bentley certainly exhibited, in a most eminent degree, this union of accurate verbal knowledge, with a comprehensive philosophical spirit, which has never been surpassed, it died with him. It was not truly revived in the Dutch school, illustrious as that has been for its three generations of scholars like Hemsterhuis, Ruhnken, and Wyttenbach ; who, like the great tragical triumvirate at Athens, have left worthy disciples indeed, but no equal successors. In Germany, however, in the latter part of the last century, an entire reform was introduced into the study of antiquity and its remains. And while the foundation was laid in a most laborious grammatical study, the superstructure was carried up in the boldest, most elevated, and adventurous spirit of criticism. Hence those discussions of the authenticity of Homer, which have given such an original turn to half the science of philology ; discussions not so much as glanced at in Prof. Dalzel's lectures on Homer ; hence, those refined disquisitions on the ancient philosophy, those admirable lights, which the monuments of ancient literature and ancient art have been made to throw on each other ;

and hence, finally, the extraordinary precision and discrimination, with which the single ancient authors have been characterized, and which has taken place, we trust for ever, of that loose and indistinct tone of pedantic admiration, in which it was the fashion to praise ancient authors of all ages and characters, to the same degree, and almost in the same words. In this new school, it is, that an attempt, bold, ingenious, we know not if we ought to add successful, has been made to reverse the popular judgments, with regard to Aristophanes. The Schlegels may be considered as those, who have been most distinctly the organs of the learned, in promulgating this new opinion. The following extract from the lectures of F. Schlegel will be new to few of our readers, having been already quoted in this discussion, but it is necessary here to repeat it, for the sake of distinctness. After a number of fine preparatory remarks, he observes, that

'in language and versification the excellence of Aristophanes is not barely acknowledged—it is such as to entitle him to take his place, among the first poets to whom Greece has given birth. In many passages of serious and earnest poetry which, thanks to the boundless variety and lawless formation of the popular comedy of Athens, he has here and there introduced, Aristophanes shows himself to be a true poet, and capable, had he so chosen, of reaching the highest eminence, even in the more dignified departments of his art. However much his writings are disfigured by a perpetual admixture of obscenity and filth—and however great a part of his wit must to us, in modern times, be altogether unintelligible, and after deducting from the computation every thing that is either offensive or obscure, there will still remain to the readers of Aristophanes a luxurious intellectual banquet of wit, fancy, invention and poetical boldness. Liberty, such as that of which he makes use, could indeed have existed no where, but under such a lawless democracy as that, which ruled Athens, during the life of Aristophanes. But that a species of drama originally intended solely for popular amusement in one particular city, should have admitted or hazarded so rich a display of poetry, this is a circumstance which cannot fail to give us the highest possible idea, if not of the general respectability, at least of the liveliness, spirituality, and correct taste of the populace, in that remarkable State, which formed the focus and central point of all the eloquence and refinement, as well as of all the lawlessness and all the corruption of the Greeks.' *F. Schlegel's Lectures*, Vol. I, p. 59.

After this defence of the poetical character of Aristophanes, the learned Austrian proceeds to assert his political independence and merit as a citizen, a point to which we may perhaps return, but on which we will not now linger. This quotation may be taken as an adequate representative of the opinion cherished of Aristophanes, by the new school in Germany. Wieland is the last perhaps who has viewed him in the ancient, unfavorable light; for writers like Fuhrmann and even Harles can hardly be quoted as of authority, in so delicate a discussion as this. That a doctrine so new, so plausible, and, if we may be pardoned the phrase, so paradoxical, should have found favor in Germany, was not surprising. There is an intensity of the speculative principle, and a forgetfulness of the practical in the German character, which are continually producing similar results. But it is a phenomenon, without many parallels, that these views should have found such a welcome in England. Till the days of Porson, Aristophanes had been but little studied in that country. The labors of Dawes had been principally confined to the correction of the text, especially by the application of his beautiful canon with respect to the optative mode and imperfect tense, in which he has been so admirably borne out by the text of the Ravenna MS.* Cumberland's labors on the Greek comedy, and Aristophanes in particular, in his Observer, were not certainly of a kind to put the student on any new track in his researches into this obscure department; and the labors of Porson on this author having been for the most part unfortunately lost by the burning of his copy of Aristophanes,† failed to produce their whole effect in turning the attention and zeal of his school to these remains. By what accident then Mr Mitchell was led to so careful a study of them, as he has made, we are not able to say, nor by what uncommon causes he has been induced to embrace in its fullest extent, nay, to exceed in extravagance, one of the theories of the German school, which we should have thought least calculated for the English taste. For ourselves, we regard the learning of the Germans with highest admiration, and look on them as the authors and masters of the true school of ancient literature. We can, however, specify but few points, where we do not think they have pushed their

* See Dawesii Misc. Crit. Ed. Kidd. Indic. p. 636.

† See Porsoni Aristophanica: Ed. Dobree Præfat. ii. and Kiddii Præf. ad Porson. Opusc. p. xxxix, which is referred to by Mr Dobree.

fine speculations too far; and where, having begun with the most sharp-sighted rectification of popular errors—of errors sanctioned by a prescription, which it is an equal proof of courage and learning to assail—they do not end by being carried into an extreme, in which they can be neither safely imitated by others, and in which they are not very consequent, always, themselves. A remarkable instance of this is presented in those most profound, original, and interesting speculations on the authenticity of the poems of Homer, which were first effectually started by Wolf. So long as he confined himself to enforcing the portentous improbability that two poems, each of twenty-four books of a texture so artificial and elaborate as that of the Iliad and Odyssey, should have been produced before alphabetical writing was in general use, and while recitation was the only instrument, and festivals the only occasion of publication, (an instrument and an occasion, which of themselves exclude even the conception of poems so long), while he confined himself to these points, the learned world were enchanted with the wisdom and sagacity, the conclusiveness, and the erudition which marked his argument.—Misled, however, by his success, he aimed at something higher, and formed in his mind an obscure image of a literary phenomenon so paradoxical and wild, that were it not heralded in with the most select and exquisite learning, no good taste would even pause to examine it; viz. the idea that the Iliad and Odyssey are a fortuitious accumulation of ancient poems never written as parts of one work, but the production of different ages, authors, and countries. We say he formed in his mind an *obscure* image of this theory, for no where does he distinctly state, and never has he in terms defended it. But it is plain to see that his mind does fondly dally with such a philological sorceress; and his enemies and his indiscreet admirers (those worst enemies of a daring mind) familiarly attribute to him '*a plurality of Homers.*'* Though, after long labouring under this

* Mr Campbell, in his lectures on poetry, thus expresses himself.—'The idea of one author having composed either of the two great poems, that pass under Homer's name, has been violently controverted in recent times, and a general scepticism has been diffused on this subject by the learning of Wolf and Heyne. Those great men have had antagonists, it is true, but none that were worthy 'Αντίθιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτῆτι, till our own countryman Payne Knight, vindicated the Iliad and Odyssey, from the imputation of having been patched into beauty and unity, by a crowd of equivocal rhapsodists.' Mr Campbell then adds, in a note to this passage, that 'Mr Knight is so far a dis-

imputation, or enjoying this reputation, you are astonished to find that he no where distinctly asserts the theory in question, and that when forced to make a categorical statement of his doctrine, he ventures no farther than to teach that the *present form* of the Iliad and Odyssey, the division into the twenty-four books, the insertion of some of the episodes, with numerous scattered lines throughout, are to be ascribed to the rhapsodists and grammarians; that these poems were originally in a shorter and simpler form; and that there is no historical certainty about the person of Homer.* We forbear to enlarge on this interesting topic, as we wish to take an early opportunity of laying before our readers a full account of this curious controversy. We have alluded to it now, in confirmation of our remark, that the Germans are not only prone to push their learned and ingenious speculations to an extreme, whither it is unsafe to follow them, but where they themselves are not sure, to be fully persuaded in their own minds. The case of Aristophanes appears to us another example in point. They found out, that instead of being merely a ribald and a buffoon, he was a poet of true and lofty vein. Thus much was finely illustrated; but then they, or their colleagues in England, would prove that he was not chargeable at all with the vice of indecency as a personal blemish, but that he spoke merely in the

senter from the old opinion, that he conceives the Iliad and Odyssey to contain internal marks of separate authors; and he admits that both have many interpolations. But the admission of both those two suppositions is a very different innovation on our accustomed ideas, from supposing such a work as the Iliad to have been a work of medley production and fortuitous design.' We design, as we have intimated in the text, to take an early opportunity of returning to this subject, and treating it at length. Meantime, if Mr Campbell will carefully weigh the closing remark in the preface to the edition of the Iliad, published by Wolf in 1795, we think that he will admit with us, that the theory of Wolf, in its deliberate statement, does not differ essentially from that of Mr Knight.

* The following is the passage from the preface of Wolf, alluded to in the preceding note.

' Nam quoniam iisdem rationibus, quibus reliquæ suspiciones nituntur, *certum est*, tum in Iliade tum in Odyssea *orsam telam* et *deducta aliquatenus fila esse a* VATE, *qui princeps ad canendum accesserat;* (illuc autem non potuit ipse non trahi serie cycli Troiani et studiis auditorum et proprii ingenii magnitudine) forsitan ne probabiliter quidem demonstrari poterit, a quibus locis potissimum nova subtemina et limbi procedant: at id tamen, ni fallor, poterit effici, ut liquido appareat, *Homero nihil praeter maiorem partem Carminum tribuendum esse*, reliqua Homeridis, praescripta lineamenta persequentibus; mox novis et insignibus studiis ordinata scripto corpora esse a Pisistratidis, variisque modis perculta posthac a διασκευασταῖς, in levioribus quibusdam rebus etiam a criticis, a quorum auctoritate hic vulgatus textus pendet.'

tone of the age, nay, that he struggled to rise above it. They found out that, instead of being a malignant flatterer of a base populace, as he is described in some of the quotations at the head of our article, he was the fearless denouncer of abuses both low and high, and ventured to drag upon the stage, in the most opprobrious, contemptuous, and hateful light, Cleon, the leader and idol of this people, to whose malignity he is charged with pandering. But not content with asserting this, it is also maintained that he was positively good tempered, diffident, and amiable in his character, and was actuated by no motives of personal enmity, in his most virulent personal attacks. Lastly, while it is justly maintained that in his clouds, he was actuated by an intrepid and noble purpose of rendering the Sophists odious and ridiculous, and exploding their pernicious principles, it is maintained, as it seems to us in the wildest spirit of paradox, that in making Socrates the hero of this piece, who was not only no sophist himself, but devoted his life to refuting and exposing them—he was actuated by no ill will towards this philosopher, but laboured under a mistake, or wished to correct some foibles which Socrates really possessed, or we know not what—for this is the portion of the theory, which wraps itself in obscurity. As the Wolfian school shrinks from asserting the downright plurality of Homers, so the Aristophanic champions appear to dread the inevitable consequence of their justification of the comedian, viz. the corruption of Socrates. Though Mr Mitchell and the quarterly reviewer play and play about this dark suggestion, as if attracted to it by a horrid fascination, and flutter over it like the bird over the serpent coiled round her nest, our learned and eloquent brother of the Edinburgh more boldly says,—

'But while Mr Mitchell contends that proofs have been displayed by him, "that the character of Socrates is a little more open to remark, than some admirers, in their ignorance, are aware of, and more than some, in their knowledge, are willing to bring to notice," he seems, like the executioner of Marius, so struck with the dignity of his victim, so awed by the splendid powers of Socrates, and the sublimity of some of the doctrines he unfolds, that he has no heart to deal the final blow, or to press his assault so closely as he might have done. We confess that our nerves are much more hardy. We have not that respect for the whole fabric of ancient philosophy,—a fabric within whose dark cells the genius of VIRGIL had so nearly been immured, to waste its radiance

like a lamp in a sepulchre—a philosophy in physics so wildly visionary, so indolently satisfied with unexperimental error,—in ethics so perplexed, so fluctuating, so unsatisfactory, which can make us tremble to approach its shrine with any thing short of the incense of adulation, or regret to see the hollowness and contradictions of the principles upon which it proceeded exposed, even in the speculations of him, who went so much further in his advances toward truth than any other of his countrymen.'—*Edinburgh Review for November* 1820.

We think there is however a softening of tone even in this passage; and without calling in question the firmness of our brother's nerves, we fancy we see them shaking a little, as he winds up with 'going so much further in his advances toward truth, than any other of his countrymen.' We do not mean to embarrass our discussion now with the question of the morals of Socrates. His purity is not the point now under our consideration. We speak of the paradoxical nature of that hypothesis, which maintains that Aristophanes did not mean to assail his purity; and we show its vagueness and the irresolution of its friends, by pointing out how they acquit Aristophanes, at one moment, of the design of attacking the philosopher, and the next, attempt darkly or boldly to intimate, tha he was the fair object of the attack. This shows some defect in the theory; at present we choose to believe that this defect is, that it sacrifices Socrates to Aristophanes. We are not yet prepared to awaken from the vision of veneration, in which we have so long indulged, and that for the sake of turning one, who had borne so general a reputation as a cruel and indecent libeller, into an angel of light, a champion of truth, and a preacher of righteousness: we are not yet ready to immolate the character of the heathen saint, for the sake of establishing the purity of the author of the Lysistrata, or making it appear that he, who wrote the Frogs, was actuated by no personal hostilities.

But we propose to confine our remarks, on the present occasion, as far as we can, to the character and merits of Aristophanes, as maintained by the German scholars, and beyond them, and with singular unanimity and concert by the English. In fact, we have been tempted to these remarks, in no small degree, from the powerful effect, which may fairly be anticipated on the public taste, by this remarkable alliance. In general, the German *literati* find but little favor with their English

brethren; and we have commonly trusted to the latter to furnish something of a counterpoise to the speculative extravagance of the Germans, and thus make it easier for the philosophical student to preserve an impartial medium between them. But this controversy seems to have taken a turn calculated to bewilder those, who relied upon the insular critics as likely to preserve the balance of philology, against the continental. Mr Mitchell misses no opportunity of complimenting the latter; and he engrafts his whole preliminary discourse on a proposition of the Messrs Schlegel. Of Wieland, though he commends his taste in one place at the expense of 'his mad inconsistencies on matters of opinion,' he observes in another, that 'his extensive erudition and extreme impartiality make him a most invaluable assistant' to the translator of Aristophanes. Göthe, who was so piteously belabored in a review of his life in the Edinburgh, is by Mr Mitchell placed above Aristophanes, (and what higher praise could Mr M. award) even in the comic vein, and allowed to be beyond comparison with him in the higher tones of poetry: while he speaks of A. W. Schlegel, the author of the lectures on dramatic art, as 'an excellent writer, as warm in his feelings as he is correct and universal in his literature.' Our brethren of the Edinburgh Review express an admiration of the Messrs Schlegel equally unlimited, and they pronounce the field of the controversy 'holy ground,' for having been trodden by them. We are a little at a loss therefore, why they, being English writers, and speaking of German critics, should designate them by the French name of *Monsieur*, which will sound as oddly in the ears of those patriotic Germans, when they shall meet with the widely circulating pages of the Edinburgh Review, as it would to Mr Mitchell to hear himself called *mein herr* in a French, or Don Thomas in a German journal. We are much pleased, at any rate, with the high testimonies to the German scholarship, which the discussions of this topic have elicited, and would gladly regard it as an earnest of a more general acquaintance on the part of our transatlantic brethren, with the too much neglected literature of the most studious and speculative people of the modern world.

In treating the question of the character and merits of Aristophanes, as they have of late been so enthusiastically espoused, we shall follow the example of Mr Mitchell and his English reviewers. As these gentlemen have professed but to

illustrate and assert the theory of the Messrs Schlegel, we shall think we have done good justice to the opposite doctrine, if we shall succeed in laying before our readers the strength of the argument as contained in an admirable Essay of Wieland, on the question, 'whether, and how far, Aristophanes is guilty or not of the charge of having treated Socrates with personal injustice in the Clouds.* It has excited some surprise in us, considering the opposite nature of the views of Wieland and Mr Mitchell, that the latter should content himself with dismissing the essay of Wieland in these terms : 'Wieland has written an essay of considerable length on the subject of the differences between Socrates and Aristophanes. As his view of the subject is entirely different from the one here taken up, his line of argument is of course as different.'† This, we fear, will inadequately convey to the reader the information, that the view of Wieland is not merely different from that of Mr Mitchell, but opposite ; and his 'line of argument' not simply different, but contradictory.

We cannot deny our readers the gratification of seeing, in the strong language of Wieland, the precise nature of the question :

'Socrates, a name, with which we are accustomed to associate the idea of whatever is most precious and venerable in man; Socrates, of whom, even in his own day, the saying prevailed, that he was declared by the oracle at Delphi to be the wisest of men, who has been recognized as such by all succeeding ages, and to whom (if without any exaggeration we confine ourselves to the simple portraiture of his character, which two of his worthiest pupils have left us,) no one certainly, either before or after, can be preferred, as wiser or better; this Socrates, in the forty-sixth year of his age, when every man in Athens must have known his real character, brought upon the public stage by the acknowledged prince of the Greek comedy, and held up as the most contemptible philosophical quack, the most ridiculous pedant, and the most shameless imposter, betrayer of the young, and foe of the national religion, as a man whose only wisdom consisted in empty subtleties, whims, plays upon words, and sophistical catches, is in truth a phenomenon, of the reality of which no historical testimony

* The title of the essay is 'Versuch ueber die Frage ; ob und wie fern Aristofanes gegen den Vorwurf den Sokrates in den Wolken persönlich misshandelt zu haben, gerechtfertigt, oder entschuldigt werden könne.' It is in the third volume of the Attisches Museum.

† Preliminary Discourse, p. cxx.

could have convinced us, had not the Clouds been one of the eleven comedies out of the fifty of Aristophanes, which are all that the muse of the Greek comedy has spared us from the general wreck of this department of literature. The question naturally arises on so singular a fact, a question which it has cost the learned, from the days of Plutarch and Ælian, and especially the enthusiastic admirers of Aristophanes, much pains to solve, how was it *possible* that a man, like Socrates, should be so treated by a man like Aristophanes! How could the sage, to be whose disciples Xenophon and Plato were proud, be so treated by a poet, in whose soul this same Plato found the most lasting temple of the graces! How could so noble and so good a man be so wholly misunderstood, so shamefully and cruelly injured by a contemporary and fellow citizen, whose works, to be sure, are filled with the monuments of his hostility against the bad, but who, with the exception of Socrates and Euripides, did injustice to no single person of acknowledged merit!'

The question is here strongly but fairly stated, and if we mistake not, its very enunciation argues the fallacy of the course pursued by the champions of Aristophanes, in first attempting to soften the facts, and to shew that the substantial features of the Aristophanic Socrates may be found in the Socrates of Plato and Xenophon; and secondly, that Socrates really was the suspicious and ambiguous character, which Aristophanes would make him. It would, we think, have been wiser to accept thankfully the statement of Wieland; to rejoice that the phenomenon admitted of being made so hard of solution. The attempt to unite two theories so totally opposed, to say, on the one hand, that the Clouds is no calumny, for it was deserved by Socrates; and, on the other, that it is no calumny, because it is but another version of what the professed panegyrists and admiring scholars of Socrates assert, is to give the whole discussion an air so paradoxical and strange, that the honest inquirer, who engages in it on the ordinary principles of criticism, is perplexed and baffled.

It would be a happy thing, could we see the way clear to maintain with the worthy philosopher Panætius, that the Socrates mentioned by Aristophanes is another individual from him, whom we venerate in Xenophon and Plato. Since, however, we know nothing of the grounds, on which Panætius made this assertion, nor of the fact itself that he does make it, except from the passing remark of the scholiast, (*Frogs*, 1539–1547,) it is not safe to build upon it. We would only observe

that it seems to us one confirmation of the purity of the Platonic Socrates, that so respectable a writer as Panætius, living within three centuries of his time, should have resorted to so violent an hypothesis, as that the Aristophanic and Platonic Socrates were historically different individuals, rather than admit that the true Socrates could have suffered, or Aristophanes have perpetrated such outrage.

Wieland is inclined to consider this idea of Panætius as having furnished the first hint to the theory, which has been proposed in modern times, and to which we have alluded, that it was not Socrates, *personally*, whom Aristophanes assailed, but the sophists of Athens. After all that has been said of this class of persons in the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, and in an article in defence of Socrates in the New Monthly Magazine for the last year, we think it superfluous to detain our readers with any discussion of their character. We are not prepared, at present, to controvert the common opinions formed of it, and they do not need more ample illustration. But in these days, when a reputation, like that of Socrates, is called in odious question, and another, like that of Aristophanes, placed in a light the most imposing and respectable, we too may be pardoned for hinting, that we believe the picture of the sophists drawn by the writers of the Socratic school in antiquity, and by their admirers in modern times, is highly overcharged. Of the controversy between the sophists and philosophers we know nothing, but what the latter have told us. And we do not fear to appeal from their accounts to the common principles of human nature. These principles demand of us, first, not to place implicit reliance on what the members of hostile sects say of each other in any controversy; and secondly, not too readily to admit, what these philosophers and the learned critics in modern days would have us believe, that, in an age like that of Pericles, when the eyes of men were as wide open as they are now, a class of individuals, devoted to the intellectual career, professing all the liberal arts, respected in the politest cities of Greece, advanced in many of them to important public trusts, and charged in most of them with the education of the children of that rank in society best qualified to estimate, and best able to pay for a good education, that a class of individuals thus honored, in such an age, should be the unrighteous throng pretended. We will not pursue this suggestion now, having

started it, because we thought that we should seem out of fashion at the present day, when almost every man has a theory about Athens and the Athenians, if we did not set up a little paradox of our own.

Whatever may be thought of this, three reasons are given why Aristophanes, designing to assail the sophists, should have chosen to personify them in the character of Socrates :—1st, because the populace of Athens did regard Socrates as no better than a quibbling sophist :—2d, because Aristophanes did not dare lay hands on the known leaders of that school, such as Protagoras of Abdera, Polus of Agrigentum, Hippias of Elea, and Gorgias of Leontium, men of high standing in their several cities, and much esteemed at Athens, and that he regarded it as more prudent to fix on an obscure native citizen, whose singularities and affectation made him a fair subject of ridicule; and, 3d, because Socrates omitted no occasion to testify his disapprobation of the character and productions of the comic theatre; and thus provoked the personal hostility of Aristophanes.

To these reasons, we think, the most entire and perfect reply may be made.—To the first, that although the common Athenians might confound the keen Socratic method, with the quibbling dialectics of the sophists, Aristophanes was too sagacious to partake the error. If he knew enough of the man, to think him sufficiently notorious to be made the hero of his piece, and to be able to bring him in a bodily and mental caricature on the stage, he must have known also, that instead of being a sophist, he was the declared enemy of that class of men; that he was pursuing them with the same zeal with which Aristophanes pursued him, and that half his instructions to his disciples, if the dialogues of Plato furnish a test, were made up of the exposure, refutation, and pursuit of the sophists. How then is it credible, that Aristophanes should have selected him as a representative of that class of men? Here, therefore, we see the irrelevancy of what has been so forcibly and eloquently urged against their principles and character. Allow the sophists to be, as they are described, the most corrupt of corrupters, poisoners of the mind, betrayers of the rising generation, intellectual quacks, so much the more impossible was it for any one out of the dregs of the people to confound Socrates with them. The discreeter course would have been, on the part of the champions of Aristophanes, not to aggravate

the depravity of the sophists; for in proportion as that is aggravated, men will be slow to think that Socrates, however far from perfect, could have been confounded by the lynx-eyed sagacity of Aristophanes with them;—but, as we have done above, to hint that, after all, the sophists were not so very bad but that good men might be found in their ranks, and that, though some of their number might run into a depraved excess, yet that others were virtuous and enlightened. This would have been agreeable to those principles of human nature, at which we glanced above, and have found a striking parallel in the society of jesuits, in modern times; a society which appears far differently in the *provincial letters*, and in the monuments of patient learning and the deeds of laborious charity throughout the globe, which have immortalized its members. It is true the difficulty would then have presented itself, not why Aristophanes should have so maltreated Socrates, but why he should have fallen so unmercifully on the sophists. This, however, would have been a difficulty far less considerable. The fairest men find no difficulty in representing the whole body of their opponents, in the most odious light. An opposite sect or party shall be held up to the bitterest scorn and detestation. Epithets shall be bestowed on it, which if just would make all whom it embraced of necessity most infamous;—all the time that not a particle of *personal* hatred is felt against individuals, who are excluded by the saving qualification, that no personal allusion is designed.

The second reason why Aristophanes should have fixed on Socrates, as the representative of the sophists, viz. that he was afraid to attack the well known and powerful leaders of that school, Protagoras, Polus, and Gorgias, is extremely feeble.—'Where,' says Wieland very justly, 'did Aristophanes get this timidity: he, who was not afraid, in the *Knights*, to make such a furious attack on one of the heads of the republic, an idol of the people, at the very zenith of his power; he, who did not fear to introduce upon the stage, and expose to their own contempt, the sovereign people of Athens themselves, under the character of a pusillanimous and doting burgess?' This is to contradict the historical traits of the character of Aristophanes, and if the contradiction could with justice be made, if it could be proved that Aristophanus had this fear; that not daring to assail the strong, he assailed the weak, not presuming to denounce the rich and popular stranger, he fell

upon the humble and obscure Athenian, not venturing actually to attack the sophists, by the names of their avowed leaders, he let loose all his acrimony on an eccentric humorist, whose singularities caused the mob to confound him with them, if this could be proved—whatever becomes of the character of Socrates, that of Aristophanes is made most contemptible.

But not more contemptible than it is made in the third reason given above, viz. that he cherished a personal enmity to Socrates, because the latter was hostile to the comic stage. To place a man like Socrates in so odious a light, as the hero of the Clouds, because he has expressed an opinion against the poet's profession, to make this personal quarrel the pretence for calumny so broad, coarse, and unsparing, and for persecution so malignant, is to confess its author to be poor-spirited in feeling and base in principle, beyond all that he has himself alleged against Socrates, or his defenders have maintained against the sophists.

The Essay of Wieland, to which we have appealed, and of which we are following the train, among its other merits has this, that it is a professed plea neither for Aristophanes nor Socrates; but an attempt philosophically and historically to explain the literary enigma, as announced at the beginning. The explanation may be reduced to these following points.—The popular comedy of Athens was an amusement of the mass of the citizens at their festivals, and particularly at the feasts of Bacchus. The comic poets were the ministers of the popular taste and feeling, and bound to provide topics for ridicule and laughter. The natural progress was from timid and general allusion, to direct personality, and lastly to systematic caricature of characters and persons on the stage. In proportion as this license increased, the nature of things demanded that it should have no effect, beyond that immediately designed, the amusement of a petulant populace. Where character is held sacred and personalities are forbidden either by public sentiment or law, a slight attack upon it awakens sensation, and must be submitted to or repelled, on the peril of retaining or forfeiting the public confidence. But where the license is familiar and notorious, and characters are habitually vilified, for no other reason than that they are notorious, and with no other object than to amuse the curiosity of an idle populace, then the instrument, once so powerful, loses its effect. 'Euripides,' says Wieland, 'remained, notwithstanding the Frogs,

and the Ecclesiasuzæ, one of the most favored and respected of the tragic poets; and Nicias continued unshaken at the head of his party. Cleon, but shortly after the representation of the Knights, received the command of the army against Brasidas, and Hyperbolus, the eternal and the indiscriminate butt of the comedians, was named to the elevated post of Hieromnemon.' Nor was the case different with Socrates: though we sometimes see his final persecution and death ascribed in part to this attack of Aristophanes, it is to be recollected that *twenty-four years* elapsed between the acting of the Clouds and the prosecution by Anytus. When therefore we consider that whatever effect was produced on the public standing of Socrates by the Clouds, must have been greatest at the moment when the play was brought out,—the rather as the paucity of books limited to narrower bounds, than with our modern notions we are able to realise, the operation of literary agents,—we shall be inclined to admit, that the case of Socrates furnishes another illustration of the harmlessness of these attacks from the comic stage. Such being the nature of his weapon, used rather to divert the audience by its flourish and glitter, than to inflict mortal wounds by its edge, Aristophanes seized it, with his youthful grasp. What opinion we have of the motives, with which he might employ it, and of the feelings with which he would select his objects, will depend a good deal on the estimation which we form of the personal character of Aristophanes. We do not scruple to yield our entire assent to Wieland on this head. The ancient biographies give us little or no information on the subject; nor is it doing Aristophanes or any man injustice to judge him by his works. We do not hesitate from these to deny him any title to our respect as a truly good man. In admiration of his talents, we yield to none. In relish for what is truly beautiful in his poetry, (and much of every sort of beauty may be found in it,) we would as little be thought to fail. We are by no means desirous to withhold our applause from the courage, with which he assailed some of the vices and vicious men of the day; nor do we deny that his political and moral maxims are in the main sound. As a writer he is beyond praise, and the rather for having distrusted his own inspiration and his own popularity, and for having bestowed on his productions the most exemplary study and care. But here the tribute to his character, in our poor judgment, must stop. His writings are incontestably marked with an ir-

ritable, unreflecting, and remorseless temper. He often derides the distinction of true and false, and confounds them for the amusement of his audience. He indulges in bestialities so gross, that no change of times—no supposed peculiarity of ancient taste, can apologise for them, and he scorns and trifles with what other men held sacred, with a levity inconsistent with a good heart. A learned and sagacious critic has declared, that Aristophanes puts a violence on himself, and says, 'It was not the bent of his mind to be immoral; though, like Swift, he might not care to wade through a little nastiness, for the sake of a joke. There is no *wallowing* in the mud, no indecency that clings to its ground, or reluctantly gives way, "with many a longing, lingering look behind."' We are constrained to differ, *in toto*, from this judgment. The fine strains are not the body and general tissue of the piece, blemished or even set off by the base foil. Aristophanes is ready at all moments, and on all occasions, to drop into hideous, indescribable, impious indecency. The modern book, which should only intimate his sins but for the sake of condemning them, would never be admitted into honest circulation. The modern scholar, who should dare to make a vernacular translation of the Lysistrata, would never be able to hold up his head in good company; and the printer, who should publish it, would be hunted down by the law. We are aware of the state of Athenian society. It was very different (heaven be praised) from our own. On looking into their classical authors of all departments, there is a certain tinge of grossness in them, which is not wicked; but appears to have had its origin in a general want of delicacy, and is to our minds far less offensive and pernicious, than the detestable inclination of Gibbon, on all occasions, to clothe indecent pleasantry in decent words. But this is all, we do not find, in the classical writings of the Greeks, the proofs of a state of manners, which furnish us any apology for the insane filthiness of Aristophanes. Homer, with the exception of a few broad phrases, which evidently *are* what the obscenity of Aristophanes evidently *is not*, the style of a rude and simple age, is highly pure; and yet the Odyssey, which carried the poet through so many scenes of private and domestic life, would have furnished abundant occasion for the opposite quality, had the taste of the times required it. It may be excepted to this example, that between the age of Homer and that of the Athenian democracy, the female character underwent an

unhappy change, and that his poems do not furnish the means of judging of the state of manners and taste, in the time of Aristophanes—which is partly just. Then we say that the contemporary literature, the history, the oratory, the tragedy of Athens, do not allow us to regard the general state of society as so corrupt, and the general state of literature so defective, as to authorize the indecency of Aristophanes. The comedy, we grant, is very different from the other branches of literature specified; it is more licentious in its nature. But if the defence be that the license was universal, something of it must be traced in *all* the literature; something must be found in every department, which bears the impress of this revolting sensuality. It is true, when we come down to a much later period, to a degenerate age of Greece; to an era alike of political slavery, literary decline, and moral corruption, we fall on a most depraved and impure taste, of which Athenæus, in his ordinary compilation, has collected monuments, that had better perished. But in defending Aristophanes, we have no more right to avail ourselves of the example of the miserable grammarians and epigrammatists, at a period subsequent by centuries to Aristophanes, than we have to quote against him the example of Homer from a period as much anterior. We just admitted that the latter cannot in justice be done, nor is there any more reason in the former. It is most unfortunate for this inquiry, that the works of the other ancient comedians are all lost; and that we are unable to compare Aristophanes with his predecessors or contemporaries, in the same department. If, however, we can appeal to the testimony of one of those who were able to make the comparison between Aristophanes and his contemporaries, of one who lived when the numerous authors of the ancient, middle, and new comedy, now lost, were yet extant, *he* certainly will be entitled to be heard with deference, in the question. Such a person is Plutarch, to whose diligence and philosophical curiosity we are indebted for the preservation of so many portions of Grecian history, and so many monuments and notices of Grecian manners, opinions, and literature. Among his moral works, as they are commonly but improperly termed, is the epitome of an essay containing an express and formal comparison between Aristophanes and Menander. It is much to be regretted that the entire work is lost. Still, however, there is no reason to distrust the justice of the abstract, which has come down to us.

From this abstract, we shall make a free but faithful quotation, just repeating, that Plutarch had the great mass of the comic literature open before him, and was able to estimate Aristophanes, in comparison with his colleagues; that it does not appear that Plutarch had any personal motive for doing Aristophanes injustice; and that, though he censures him extravagantly, it does not appear that he had any provocation thus to censure him beyond what was furnished by the works themselves of Aristophanes. 'At this period,' says Plutarch, 'that the city abounds with good actors of comedy, it is found that the comedies of Menander are replete with a spirit as innocent and even pious, as if it had its origin from the waves, whence Venus sprung. The spirit of Aristophanes, on the other hand, is bitter and harsh; it has a keen, biting, yea an ulcerating severity. Nor can I any where discern, either in the characters or language of his comedies, his boasted skill. What he imitates he debases. He represents not a polite but a malicious cunning; and his rusticity, instead of being confiding, is doltish. His humor is that not of laughter but derision, and his amours, instead of being gay, are profligate. The man seems not to have written for any person of discretion; but to have indulged in what is base and lascivious, that he might please the profligate, and in what is slanderous and bitter, that he might gratify the envious and malignant.—Op. II. 854.

This is the severe judgment of Plutarch, on the merits of Aristophanes. We may not choose to go the whole length of his condemnation, nor extend it to the literary merits of the poet. This is a point of taste, which we have a right to discuss with Plutarch. But as to his purity and impurity, which is not a matter of literary taste, but moral sentiment, and which we expressly refer to the standard of the age, to be settled by that, we maintain that Plutarch, with all the comic literature of the Greeks before him, and while instituting a formal comparison between Aristophanes and Menander, has a right to be heard.—We see not why he should not command our assent.

We have urged this topic, and have quoted this passage from Plutarch, for the sake of adding to the considerations, with which Wieland fortifies his opinion of the moral character of Aristophanes. In that opinion, we sincerely concur, and without wishing, with a puritanical sternness, to enter into judgment with the license, into which the pride of genius and

popularity in a lax age, and in unguarded moments, may have betrayed their possessors, are well persuaded that he is justly obnoxious to the charge of a corrupt moral taste, and a cold selfish heart. With these premises, in respect to the province assigned to the ancient comedy, its practical harmlessness, and the personal character of Aristophanes, our readers will be prepared for Wieland's last proposition, that though Aristophanes is neither to be justified nor excused for his attack on Socrates, he is not to be set down as of a spirit so remorseless, that he intended to pursue him to the death. On the other hand, the known inefficiency, to which the comedy had reduced itself as a means of affecting character, and the example of the most successful of the satires of Aristophanes, which had not cost their subjects the favor of the people, might have rendered the poet indifferent to the application he was making of it, in the case of Socrates, and so turn what many have considered blood-thirsty persecution, into mere selfish levity of spirit, which was willing to hold up to hatred and ridicule a man, whose outward singularities had made him a promising object of such an attack.

Such is the account which is given by Wieland, and which we have endeavoured to illustrate and strengthen. It would admit of various confirmation from other quarters. We might show that just such a course, as we conceive Aristophanes to have pursued toward Socrates, did he also pursue toward Euripides, the friend of Socrates; and the delight of all who are touched by the portraiture of the human heart. What could seemingly be more ferocious, than the tone and perseverance with which this last great member of the tragical triumvirate of Athens, is pursued by his satirical foe? What more inconsistent with real goodness of feeling and elevation of character? What more indicative of a cold, heartless, selfish reliance on his own skill and power, triumphing over that feeling of mutual dependence of man on man, which keeps men within bounds, and teaches them to attack, as those who may in turn be assailed? We might insist on this; and we might also enter upon the defence of Socrates, on the merits of his own character; a subject which, our readers perceive, we have hitherto left untouched. Did our limits now permit us, we should cheerfully do this; and we do not despair of an opportunity hereafter of submitting our thoughts upon it to the decision of our readers, confident as we are, that on *all* the points of doubt

in the character of Socrates, it admits of an explanation, consistent with his spotless purity. It may be thought but a faint championship to talk of *explanation.* But it is not often that human virtue admits of more, and it has been the fortune of Socrates, partly no doubt in consequence of the bad notoriety cast upon him by the play of the Clouds, to be more involved than could be wished in the suspicion of not having been wiser and better than his age in points, where he ought to have been, and we believe was, both.

We have been content to leave the correctness of the foregoing statements to the decision of our readers, without anxiously mustering the names of those, who patronize or refuting the objections of those, who call them in question. But inasmuch as the idea has been held up that the representation of the character of Socrates timidly hinted at by Mr Mitchell, and more boldly threatened by one of his reviewers, has received the unqualified support of the Messrs Schlegel in the same degree, in which the literary merit of the great comedian has been enforced by them, we think it necessary to add, that this too must be taken with qualification. We have already quoted some remarks of Mr F. Schlegel, which go only to maintain the poetical and patriotic character of Aristophanes, without justifying him in his warfare against Socrates. One of Mr A. W. Schlegel's lectures on dramatic art and literature is devoted to the subject of the ancient comedy; and in this, he represents the genius and character of Aristophanes, in the most favorable light. He does not, however, deny that his moral sentiment was corrupt, and he attributes his persecution of Socrates to personal enmity. In all that he says, it is plain that he treats the subject exclusively in its connexion with taste and criticism; and while we bow to his judgment in these departments, we are unwilling to admit, that a moral acquittal, were the Messrs Schlegel, as they are not, disposed to pronounce one, would come with any other force from these gentlemen, than what it would carry with it, in the reasons on which it is built. Whatever apology may be made for the impurity of Aristophanes, on the score of the low standard of morals in the age in which he lived, we apprehend that this apology can hardly be extended to the good natured toleration, with which his worst pieces are characterized in the lecture of Mr A. W. Schlegel alluded to: and we may be equally allowed to doubt, whether the author of the Lucinda is to be

admitted as a judge without appeal, on the morality of the author of the Lysistrata.

We have left ourselves scarce any room to speak of the work named at the head of our article, the first volume of Mr Mitchell's Aristophanes. This we have the less reason to regret, as our classical readers are already well possessed of its contents and character. The elaborate and ingenious preliminary discourse, consisting of *one hundred and sixty* pages, is, with a few slight alterations, the first article in the Quarterly Review for September 1819, there given as a review of Mr F. Schlegel's lectures. The reviews of Mr Mitchell's volume, in the Quarterly and Edinburgh, particularly the former, are so ample and satisfactory, and so generally in our readers' hands, that we think it superfluous to prolong our article. We cannot but enter our protest, however, against the mode of translating, which Mr Mitchell has adopted, in giving up, as it should seem, in despair, many passages equally susceptible, in his hands, with many that he has translated, of a pleasing English transfusion, and supplying their place by a cold analysis of their substance in prose. We trust Mr Mitchell has amended this matter in the continuation of his work, which we see announced in London, and which we beg leave to assure him is expected with impatience on this side of the Atlantic. When we are favored with it, we shall renew the consideration of the subject, and endeavor to render a more distinct testimony of our own to Mr Mitchell's felicity as a translator.

ART. XV.—*Herculanensium Voluminum quæ supersunt. Tomus II.* Neapoli, 1809. Fol.

THIS volume, the last which has been published by the Academicians of Portici, contains fragments of two books of *Epicurus de Natura*, being a portion of the treatise of thirty-seven books on this subject, ascribed by Diogenes Laertius to Epicurus. There are probably few of our readers, to whom the earlier history of the discovery, made of manuscripts, in the ruins of Herculaneum, is unknown. No event in modern times had excited greater interest in the literary world; and rarely has so lively an interest been succeeded, by such indifference. The causes of this indifference are obvious;—such as the time,

that elapsed from the first opening of the ruins, and the discovery there of a large library of manuscripts, before it was found possible to decypher and transcribe the latter:—the little intrinsic value of the few specimens, that have been transcribed and published, and the tediousness of the process by which this was effected, which seemed to forbid the expectation of any thing much more important being done for the future. These circumstances combined have damped the hopes hitherto entertained of great light being thrown upon ancient literature, and large additions made to our treasure of Greek and Roman authors, by this discovery. Yet there remains the certain fact, that more than a thousand MSS are in existence from an age far older than the oldest, which have otherwise come down to us, and which, however difficult to decypher, are still proved by experience to be legible. Who does not feel a secret hope, that some happy chance may yet show, that it has not been to no purpose, that they were preserved beneath the burning streams of a volcano, and have been recovered from the earth, after having been buried there seventeen centuries? Since the first attempts, which in fact are the only very successful ones, and with which many of our readers doubtless are acquainted, several new efforts have been made to improve the process of unrolling and decyphering these manuscripts. Of these we propose to offer our readers some account; and for the sake of rendering it more intelligible, and more interesting, to such of them as may not happen to be informed of the details of the discovery of the ruins of Herculaneum, we have ventured to take up the subject from the beginning.

Herculaneum was a city on the Italian coast in Campania, between Pompeii and Naples, and is often mentioned in the classical writers. The name is written sometimes Herculanum, by which it is now commonly known on the European continent, and sometimes Herculaneum, as it is called in England and America. It suffered considerably by an earthquake, under the reign of the Emperor Nero; and under the reign of the Emperor Titus, and in the time of Plinythe elder, was buried beneath the streams of lava from mount Vesuvius. The celebrated writer just mentioned lost his life in his unguarded attempt to gratify his curiosity upon this great pheno-

menon of nature.* The city of Pompeii and some smaller places were buried at the same time. Herculaneum was not, as Winckelman says, covered in the first instance by the lava, but by showers of glowing cinders and hot ashes, cemented, shortly after they had fallen, by torrents of rain. Upon this first covering, the burning streams of lava poured and filled the city with a mass, which as it cooled passed into stone. That the inhabitants had time to save themselves, and their most valuable possessions, appears from the circumstance that few skeletons, jewels, or precious articles of any kind, have been found. At Stabiæ, three female figures were discovered, of which one was apparently a servant, and was carrying a wooden casket: the two other figures had golden bracelets and earrings, which are now preserved in the museum at Naples; and at Pompeii, according to Eustace, sixty skeletons have been found. That attempts had, at some former period, been made to explore these ruins is rendered probable, by the subterraneous passages into them, evidently the work of much labor, which were discovered at the commencement of the modern excavations. An inscription also was found, which is supposed to allude to the same attempt. The modern discovery was made by occasion of the digging of a well on the spot, in the grounds of the prince of Elbeuf, near his residence. This was a house built upon the sea-shore, on rocks of Lava, near a Franciscan cloister. In sinking the well, the laborers struck against a flight of stone stairs, but, piercing through them, continued their work till they came to a firm soil, consisting of the ashes of Vesuvius. Three female statues were here found, which of all the discoveries of Herculaneum are, as yet, the most celebrated, perhaps the most valuable, and which are in the gallery of antiques at Dresden, under the name of the Vestals.

After the discovery of the figures, the prince of Elbeuf was forbidden to continue the excavations. Nothing more was done for thirty years, when the estate was purchased by the prince-royal, afterwards king of Spain, and chosen as the place

* Pliny the younger, however, in his admirable account of the eruption, of Vesuvius, and death of his uncle, Epist. VI. 16. ascribes the final determination of the latter to sail toward the foot of the mountain to a more noble motive, than the gratification of curiosity:—'Vertit ille consilium, et quod studioso animo inchoaverat, obit maximo. Deducit quadriremes, adscendit ipse non Retinæ modo sed multis (erat enim frequens amenitas oræ) *laturus auxilium.*'

of his summer residence. The well, which was still open, was further excavated, and farther traces of a building, which proved afterwards to be a theatre, were found. An inscription containing the name of the city was also discovered, and this gave animation to the further steps taken, in investigating the famous ruins. Till this time it does not appear to have been known that the ruins belonged to Herculaneum.

The superintendence of the work was intrusted to a Spanish surveyor, of the name of Alcubiere, through whose ignorance much damage was done to the relics of antiquity. Among others quoted, is the following instance.—An inscription in large brass letters, which were two palms high, was discovered, and without being copied, was torn down, bent up, and brought in a basket to the king, reduced to a literal resemblance to those useful kitchen utensils with which bad writing is often compared, to the great embarrassment of the antiquaries, who have attempted to explain it. But as this first overseer was advanced in rank, the care of the excavations fortunately fell to a Swiss officer, Major Charles Weber, to whom, says Winckelman, we are indebted for all the proper measures that have been taken. Our limits oblige us to omit, from this sketch, the account of the statues, pictures, and other works of art, the inscriptions, articles of furniture and luxury, which were found, and of which the description occupies near a hundred pages, in the last edition of Winckelman's works. Such of our readers, as have not access to the original, can consult the French or the Italian translation, the latter of which is enriched by the valuable commentary of the Abbé Fea, of Rome.

It was the discovery of a library of MSS among other relics of antiquity found in these ruins, which was heard with most interest by the literary world. They were found in a chamber so small, that two men, with outstretched arms, could reach across it, in a villa that had been partly excavated.—Around the sides of the room were cases, such as those usually placed in public offices, and in the middle a case, with shelves on each side, admitting a passage all round,—all being about six feet high. The wood, of which these cases were made, was in a state of coal, and dropped to pieces when it was touched. The cases were filled with black rolls, which at first were thought to be bits of wood, of no value, and many of them were thrown away or trodden under foot, as such. The regu-

larity, however, of their position awakened the suspicion of what they were, and they were carefully collected to the number of near two thousand, and deposited in the museum at Portici. These rolls thus saved from ruin, in the moment of discovery were found to be manuscripts written on papyrus, or the Egyptian reed, of which specimens exist in the greenhouses in our vicinity, and from which the word *paper*, in the modern languages, is derived. They were mostly of uniform dimensions, viz. a span long, and three or four fingers thick;—some were but half a span long. The most are shrivelled and contracted, by the heat of the lava, under which the house was buried, and all are reduced to coal. So thin was the paper originally, and so frail has it been made by the operation of heat and time, that a breath affects it. The rolls were, in the first instance, composed of strips of paper, about four inches wide, lapped a finger's breadth over each other, and thus glued together. This work of gluing the strips of papyrus together was among the ancients the business of the *glutinatores;* and that their art ought not to be reckoned among the quite inferior mechanical arts, may be inferred from the fact, that the Athenians, who thought nothing contemptible which promoted letters, erected a statue to Philatius, for his improvements in it. The strips thus pasted together, and afterwards written upon transversely, were sometimes simply rolled up, but more commonly attached to a roller of wood. This was called *umbilicus*, from the appearance of the end of it, after the MS. was rolled up; and hence the expressions *ad umbilicum ducere*, and *ad umbilicum pervenire*. Several of these rolls, after the discovery, were divided longitudinally, to show the internal construction, and to be exhibited to strangers. In some of these, says Winckelman with horror, the character was as large and fair, as that of the great Oxford Pindar! The blacker these rolls are, and the more perfectly they are charred, the more easy are they to be unrolled and decyphered; for in this case, the moisture was more thoroughly and uniformly expelled, by the heat, and they were thus reduced to a state, in which they would be less affected by the lapse of time. Those, on the contrary, which by their position were less uniformly charred, have mouldered more, and afford less hope of being made legible. What these manuscripts contained was for a long time a question. Signior Martorelli, an Italian scholar, who wrote a thick and learned volume upon an inkstand found in the

ruins, maintained that they were documents of various sorts, soldiers' furloughs, reports, and official instruments, and that in the building where they were found, were the municipal archives of the city of Herculaneum. Winckelman refutes the opinion at considerable length; and his own, that it was a collection of the Greek writings of the single and hitherto unknown author Philodemus, which he formed from the circumstance, that the four first unrolled were works of this writer, has been proved, by farther examination, also incorrect. Besides the treatise of Philodemus on music, which has been published, with engraved *fac similes* of the columns of the original, and a learned commentary, (of which edition a copy is in the Athenæum library and the college library at Cambridge,) and several other unpublished writings of the same author, there have been discovered, in Greek, some books of Epicurus, and a commentary of Colotus, an unknown author, on Plato, and a short Latin poem. These are in addition to the discoveries made by Dr Hayter, a person sent from England by the Prince Regent, of which we shall presently speak. These manuscripts are written in columns, about four fingers broad, and forty, or in some cases, forty-four lines long, of which the most distinct idea will be formed, by examining a copy of the edition of Philodemus.* This work has forty such columns, and is a metaphysical treatise on music, of almost no intrinsic value. The second work of Philodemus, which has never been published, contains seventy such columns, and is the second book of a treatise on rhetoric. The third MS. unrolled contained the first book of the same treatise; and the fourth is a work on virtues and vices, by the same author.

Various attempts were made, with little or no success, to unrol these manuscripts, in the trial of which several of them were destroyed, before the method afterwards used was invented. It was the invention of a Roman monk, Antonio Piaggi, who, having made public his proposal, and received the approbation of the competent judges, was sent for to Naples to apply it. It has been often described, among others by Kotzebue, in his Travels in Italy, and is in substance as follows. The MS. is suspended by steel arms, which arise perpendicularly from a convenient frame, and attach themselves to the above-mentioned roll of wood, in the middle of the manuscript. Goldbeaters' skin is glued to a portion of the latter, about a half finger wide, and, by

* This description applies only to the MS. of Philodemus.

means of silken threads fixed to the goldbeaters' skin, and machinery adapted to the purpose, the portion of the manuscript thus secured is rolled off. The skin is again applied to another portion, which is rolled off in the same manner, and as this work proceeds, the whole is gradually and gently rolled upon another wooden cylinder. From this cylinder, the manuscript thus lined with goldbeaters' skin is finally unrolled, and then spread out, and transcribed. There are various inconveniences in this process.—In the first place it requires a month's time to unrol a portion of the manuscript a span wide; and it may from this easily be calculated, how tedious an operation it must be to decypher a large roll. Besides this, holes have, in many cases, been produced in the folds of the paper, by the operation of time and the moisture contained in them. These, on account of the thinness of the paper, cannot be discerned by the eye; and when the goldbeaters' skin is laid on with glue over such a hole, it takes up, of course, the portion of the fold lying next under it. The same error is repeated when the work reaches the new chasm, occasioned by this last violence, and thus an inextricable confusion takes place, and is propagated through the whole. In addition to all this, the adhesive solution applied to fasten the goldbeaters' skin to the roll, though it possesses the necessary quality of loosening the folds from each other, is found also to loosen the different strips of paper mentioned above; in which way new difficulty and confusion are introduced. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, the work of Philodemus on music was unrolled and decyphered. After learning by what a tedious and imperfect process this must be effected, we cannot but wonder, that it was accomplished so well; at the same time, that the insignificance of the writing itself has done not a little to damp the zeal with which the business of unrolling the MSS was pursued. Had the lost books of Polybius, Diodorus, or Dionysius, the history of Theopompus, the lost plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, or Aristophanes, or the comedies of Menander, to say nothing of Roman literature,—had any of these been fortunately among the manuscripts unrolled, there would have been no bounds to the interest that would have been excited, and no effort would have been thought too great in the pursuit of the work. Still, however, it is hard to think, that no valuable author is among the MSS. The conjecture of Winckelman is, as we have said, refuted by the subsequent discovery

of other writers besides Philodemus; and when we consider the dearness and scarcity of books in ancient t mes, we cannot think that any person, who had the means and disposition to acquire a library of nearly two thousand volumes, should have possessed among them none of the works of the masters.—It would be hard, even in our days, in the marvellous multiplication of worthless writings by the press, and the eagerness with which they are sought for, it would be hard to find a library of two thousand volumes, which contained nothing, that would be more valuable to posterity eighteen hundred years hence, after such a wreck of our literature, as that of antiquity has suffered, than the works of Philodemus are to us. There is, we venture to say, among us no collection of novels and romances, no library of political pamphlets, no apparatus in polemical divinity, into which some volume of Goldsmith or Addison has not found, or rather lost, its way. Nay we have a pleasing confidence, that were our circulating libraries, our boksellers' shops, and our publishers' offices, to be overwhelmed at once like Herculaneum, some redeeming fragment of the masters of the English literature would be discovered hereafter in the ruins, to show posterity we were not utterly given up to ordinary fugitive writings, to newspapers, to journals and reviews, and all the light reading of the day.

The disordered state of the Neapolitan finances, the unsettled condition of things produced by the political revolution, and perhaps the want of spirit in those on whom the duty devolved, occasioned a great sluggishness and inactivity in the prosecution of this work. Representations to this effect were made to the prince of Wales, in England, at the beginning of the present century, and his royal highness, in consequence, with great liberality, proposed to the Neapolitan government to defray the expenses of unrolling, decyphering, and publishing the manuscripts. This offer was accepted by the court of Naples; and it was thought necessary to select a person to superintend the enterprise. The event has proved, we believe, that an unfortunate choice was made, and that the liberal designs of the prince would have been most effectually carried into execution, by simply applying the *stimulus* of English patronage and pay, to the experience and fidelity of the academicians of Portici. Mr Hayter, however, an English gentleman, was selected for the place, on the reputation of his classical scholarship; and a less fortunate choice, judging from

the sequel, could not well have been made. This gentleman arrived in Naples in 1802, with credentials, which procured him a nomination as one of the directors for unrolling the manuscripts.

An account of this gentleman's labors may be found in the Herculanensia of Sir W. Drummond and Mr Walpole, and in two letters addressed by himself to his princely patron. With the Herculanensia we are acquainted, only through the medium of the learned and instructive review of it, in the third volume of the Quarterly Review; the first article of which is a notice of this work, with a *fac simile* of the fragment on Epicurus, unrolled by Mr Hayter, and published by Sir W. Drummond, with an English translation of the fragment. The two letters of Mr Hayter, or certainly one, we remember to have read some years since, but have them not at hand. Of the EIGHTY manuscripts, which he professes to have rendered legible, we believe this short fragment of Epicurus is all that the world has seen. Neither Mr Hayter, if our memory serves us, nor the authors of the Herculanensia, from aught that appears in the excellent notice of their labors in the Quarterly Review, condescend to inform us of the authors of these eighty books, nor what accession is made by them to our stores of ancient literature. From the ominous silence or obscurity which reigns on this head, we are apprehensive that these attempts on the eighty manuscripts were abortive. That the *papyri* were but partially unrolled, or very imperfectly decyphered, and that instead of eighty manuscripts being 'made legible' by the labors of Mr Hayter, the real truth is, that eighty have been mutilated and ruined by him. Such, in fact, we were informed by an English gentleman of high respectability, concerned in subsequent negotiations on this subject, was the case, and that it had been discovered that nothing valuable was to be expected from Mr Hayter's labors.

In this state of things another project was started, and being brought forward under high scientific patronage, arrested the attention of the public. The author of this project was Dr Sickler, rector of a school at Saxe Hildburghausen, in Germany. As this project excited much attention at the time, and led to an expensive experiment, under the patronage of the British parliament, we shall lay before our readers the report of the academy of sciences at Göttingen, to which Dr Sickler submitted the project. This report is contained in a notice in

the *Literary Gazette* of Göttingen for December 1814, which notice is as follows :—

'At a public meeting of the royal society, on the 9th November, Mr Heeren submitted to the society a statement of Dr Sickler, director of the Gymnasium at Saxe-Hildburghausen, (well known for several esteemed antiquarian writings, and for his excellent topographical map of the country about Rome,) upon a subject very important for classical literature, viz.—*an improved method of unrolling the manuscripts found at Herculaneum.* Dr Sickler wished to subject his method to a thorough investigation; and to this end—and because, from very weighty considerations he could not as yet make it publicly known,—petitioned that a committee of the royal society might be appointed, to which the particulars of his process, and experiments made by himself on charred paper, should be submitted. Messrs Blumenbach, Hausmann and Heeren were nominated as this committee, and their report follows.

It must previously be observed, that Dr Sickler, during six years which he spent in Italy, was three times at Naples, and had opportunity there, not only to make himself particularly acquainted with the method hitherto pursued, and its defects, but also, as far as the rules of the museum admitted, to subject his own to the test of experiment. According to the statement of the overseer of the museum, there are not less than 1400 rolls there preserved, wholly or mostly unrolled. They are nearly all of the same length, but of very unequal thickness; from which it follows, of course, that the works written upon them are of various comprehension. With respect to their contents, very hasty hypotheses have been adopted, which experience itself has shown to be incorrect. It can no longer be doubted, that they are writings of very various nature, in Greek and Latin, in prose and poetry, since a work upon music, a work of Epicurus upon nature, and a Latin poem, have been found; and in others, subjects from geography and natural history are evidently treated. Little as we may be able to anticipate, what may be the result of farther disclosures, there is every reason to think that several of the most important works in classical literature are here concealed; and the expectation of finding there the comedies of Menander, or the lost books of Polybius, though uncertain, is by no means chimerical.'—[Here follows a mention of the steps hitherto taken, of the method of Antonio Piaggi, and the mission of Mr Hayter, of which the result was not then known, as we have already related them.] The notice proceeds.—'To an improved method it was accordingly necessary, first, to discover a preparation, which could be applied upon the side of the charred paper, and would penetrate

the papyrus, without injuring it, or rendering it hard by drying too suddenly; secondly, to find a material with which the papyrus, by the aid of the preparation, could be lined upon the outside, yet without tearing; and, lastly, to make some improvements in the other parts of the machinery, to facilitate the unrolling. Dr Sickler considers, that he has hit upon a method, which fulfils these conditions, and as a proof of this, has communicated to the society specimens of paper written upon, and reduced to coal, which, after being lined in the way proposed by him, are unrolled and transcribed. The following is the official opinion pronounced by the committee of the royal society upon this method.—" The method proposed by Dr Sickler, for unrolling the Herculanean MSS, is essentially different from that which has hitherto been pursued without success; and appears to unite the different qualifications requisite, viz. those of unfolding the charred rolls in a connected and legible condition, and in a short time. The adhesive mixture, which Dr S. has proposed, is of a nature to attach itself equally well to the charred papyrus, and to the substance with which they are to be lined. It dries slowly, so that it is not necessary to precipitate the work of unfolding, and should any portion of an underfold, by cause of a hole in the one above, attach itself to the lining, this mixture will admit of its being easily separated. The body, to which the manuscript is to be transferred to render it legible, is indeed very yielding, so as to accommodate itself to rolls that are shrivelled and bent, but is, at the same time, substantial and firm. The machinery proposed is simple, and presents the advantage, that the charred roll is preserved in the state of the greatest possible tranquillity, and that every motion is avoided which might tear the delicate mass; at the same time, it places the manuscript in a position best calculated to facilitate the reading of it. From these premises, the committee consider it highly probable, that the method proposed would be attended with success, especially as, upon being applied to papers written upon and reduced to coal, it is found entirely competent to unfolding them in a legible condition. Still, however, a perfect conviction of its applicability can only be produced by experiments upon the charred rolls themselves, by occasion of which, no doubt, various improvements would suggest themselves, adapted to the particular condition of each MS., which could not be provided for in advance."—The notice proceeds.—" It is naturally the wish of Dr Sickler to have an opportunity of making a fair experiment of his method upon one of those rolls, which have reached London and Paris in the way of presents from Naples, and the royal society, when it considers the importance of the event in case of success, and the probability of succeeding, cannot but express the wish, that such an opportunity might be given to Dr Sickler."'

To confirm his pretensions, Dr Sickler presented the public with a specimen of a *papyrus*, which he had unrolled, on occasion of his visit to Naples. How he came possessed of it does not appear. He does not say, that it was either given or lent to him, and the other way of getting possession of things has fallen into disuse since the 'age of chivalry.' We would not have thrown out this awkward suggestion, but for the apocryphal character of the fragment itself, which led several respectable English gentlemen to do the doctor the justice of believing, that, instead of pilfering the fragment at Naples, he fabricated it at home. To give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves, we have placed the fragment in a note.*

Notwithstanding the suspicions entertained by several of the best scholars, that Dr Sickler's pretensions came in questionable shape, the recommendation of so respectable a body as the society at Göttingen, speaking by the organ of a committee of most competent judges, was sufficient to procure for Dr Sickler an opportunity of making an experiment in London. To that city he was requested to repair; and a committee was raised to superintend the experiment, which he should make on some rolls, that were submitted to him by order of parliament; being a part of those which, at a former period, had been presented to the British government by the Neapolitan. Sir Joseph Bankes, Sir H. Davy, and other distinguished literary and scientific characters, were of the committee, and every thing was liberally provided, that the experiment might proceed to advantage. After laboring six months, the doctor succeeded in unrolling four manuscripts, and decyphering one word Ἀπόλλωνος from which he conjectured, with some plausibility, that the MS. where that word was found, was a poem. A poem it certainly was, or some other work in the Greek language. By this time, the cost of the experiment, including the allowance liberally made by parliament to Dr Sickler, to indemnify him for the expenses of removing himself and family

* As published by Dr Sickler, it is entitled, 'Fac Simile einer Herculanischen MS. Rolle.' Then follows the actual *fac simile* about 2¾ inches broad, and 4½ long, and under it is written, 'legible copy of the above fragments.'

Ζῶα δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνην τὴν χώραν ἐστι, καὶ τόπος τις κοῖλος, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν πλήθυων παντοῖων τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ὀφέων ὧν ἐνιας μὲν πέντε καὶ δέκα πῆχεας εἶναι οἱ περὶ ναιετάοντες λεγόυσι, ἃς χωρὶς κινδύνων θηρευουσι, τροφὴν ἀιεὶ ἑτοιμὴν παρεχουσας. τῷ δὲ ἐθνεῖ τούτῳ χώρα παρήκει κατὰ τάς τῶν ποτάμων παραλίας καλὴν, καὶ πρὸς νόμην ἀγαθὴ, τῇ δὲ προειρημένῃ παράλιᾳ νῆσοι τέσσαρες ἐπικεῖνται πετρηεῖς μὲν καὶ μέλαιναι τὴν ὄψιν στῆλων δὲ παμμεγεθων ὕλην αὐτόφυτον ἀποφαινοῦσαι ἐρεψαι ὄρος καὶ παρακεῖται το τῶν κυκλώπων, ὀνομαζμένον ὑπὸ τὰς ῥίζας ὁμοίως κατὰ τὴν κορυφὴν πέτρας ἔχον.

to London, had amounted to £1000; four manuscripts had been released from the possibility of being tortured by future decypherers; and it was thought proper to put a stop to the undertaking.

Since the failure of this experiment, we understand that Sir H. Davy, while at Naples three years since, made some partial attempts on the *papyri*, which were attended with success; but that he expressed the opinion, that little was to be expected, in the way of facilitating the process, as hitherto practised by the academicians at Portici. For our own parts, on examining these rolls at Naples, and observing the state to which they are reduced, instead of wondering that no more has been done, we are filled with admiration with what has been effected. Nor do we despair of yet seeing some valuable accession to our stores of ancient literature from this quarter.

The books of Epicurus, now first published in the volume, of which we have given the title at the head of this article, though certainly not what we should have most desired, are no contemptible relic. Nothing of this philosopher was till now extant, beyond the detached quotations made from him by other ancient writers; and we cannot peruse without interest the first writings thus recovered to us of one of the most celebrated philosophers of antiquity. The space we have already taken up prevents our going more deeply into the notice of this work; nor would it perhaps amuse our readers. We shall close our article with one remark on the perversity of human things, of which the fate of these books of Epicurus furnishes one among many illustrations. It is well known that the walls of the Egyptian temples, the sides of the obelisks and the sarcophagi, and the rolls of papyrus found within the bandages of the mummies, are filled with hieroglyphical characters; the record, no doubt, of a mass of historical and biographical knowledge, but altogether lost to the world, from an ignorance of the hieroglyphical character. When we thus compare the fate of writings on tablets of freestone and granite, perfectly preserved but perfectly unintelligible, with the fate of many other literary remains of antiquity, we behold a remarkable instance, how little the result can always be prophesied from the premises. The law of Moses was written on perishable materials, probably linen; and had so nearly perished, that one copy only was extant, and that was buried in the decaying ruins of the

temple.* This book, however, written in the dialect of a small province, and so nearly lost, is now in all the tongues of civilized, and in very many of the tongues of uncivilized man. The poems of Homer were probably never written by their author; but sung about the Grecian islands and the Ionian coasts by a wandering bard, contemporary with the flourishing age of Egypt. They are now in all the schools of America, Europe, and European India. The works of Aristotle written on parchment were buried shortly after his death, to preserve them from the rapacity of the kings of Pergamus. One hundred and sixty years they lay forgotten in the ground, exposed to dampness and mildew. They are now in all our libraries. The text of the Roman law, the institutions and pandects of Justinian, existed in their entire form but in one copy, in an Italian trading town, Amalfi, while at the present day justice is administered from that text, in all the continental courts of Europe. In the declining ages, parchment was so dear, that one writing was effaced to make way for another. The finest productions of Grecian and Roman wit, nay the scriptures themselves, were often thus obliterated, to make way for the epistles of a church father and the legends of a saint. Modern ingenuity has found out methods of restoring the ancient writing, after it had thus been scratched out and written over.† But more curious, we think, than all these, is the fact certified to us by the subject of our present article. More than seventeen hundred years ago, a stream of fiery lava covered the town of Herculaneum in some places to a depth of seventy feet. When we think of the destructive power of such a mass of molten rocks, so long as it remains in a state of fusion, and the condition of paper manuscripts, over which it has flowed to a depth of forty and fifty feet; and reflect that manuscripts so buried have now, after seventeen centuries, been dug up, unfolded, and printed, we have, perhaps, the most astonishing fact in literary history; and contrasting it with the mute records, which have braved in vain the storms of ages, on the obelisks and the temples at Carnac and Luxor, one of the most remarkable examples of the perversity of human things.

* 2. Chron. xxxiv. 14, and the corresponding passage in the book of Kings.
† See North American Review, vol. xii, p. 385, &c.

ART. XVI.—1. *A Review of the plan of Education in South Carolina.* Columbia, S. C. 1821.

2. *Address to the Graduates of the South Carolina College; December* 1821. *By Thomas Cooper, M. D. President of the College.*

IT is remarked by Dr. Ramsay, that the settlement of Carolina 'was nearly coeval with the institution of the royal society of London, and began at a time when Addison, Boerhave, Barrow, Fenelon, Hall, Locke, Milton, Newton, Rollin, Sydney, Sydenham, Sloane, Tillotson, Watts, and many other sons of intellect, were living and enlightening the world with the beams of knowledge. Though few, if any, of the early settlers of the province were learned men, yet they brought with them general ideas of European literature.' The doctor appears to intimate, in this array of great names, that some light may have been reflected from them on the infant settlement of Carolina. It is however only by the *licentia historica*, if there be such a figure, that all these luminaries can be made contemporaries. Of the labors of one of them, from whom, as the formal legislator of that colony, something might have been expected, the author of the seasonable pamphlet before us, expresses himself in the following decided manner.

'One will not be surprised, when he has read the number of stupid and illiberal things contained in Locke's Constitution for South Carolina, (for instance, such as prohibiting the existence of lawyers, and of commentaries and reports on legal subjects—compelling a man to worship some god *publicly*, or be driven from society and the protection of the law—giving *absolute* power to the master over his negro slaves, &c. which show a great want of philosophy as well as Christianity,) that he should have made no provision whatever, in his government, for education. I rejoice that our ancestors expelled it with contempt and indignation, as the unworthy offspring of a writer on the mind and republics. He apologised for one clause, and I think he might have included twenty. p. 11.

Indeed, Carolina was not indebted for the first efficient efforts made in that province, for the promotion of literature, to any of the shining luminaries mentioned in Dr Ramsay's catalogue; but to a man, whose name most of our readers will probably hear now for the first time—a Dr BRAY —by whose liberality chiefly it was, that libraries were early

established in Charleston, and the other parishes into which the province was then divided. In 1700, the legislature took these libraries into its own care, and appointed commissioners to loan out the books. Following up this salutary beginning, in 1710 and 1712, the legislature founded a free school in Charleston, on a pretty large scale, and schools in the other parishes, on a less extensive plan. The preceptor of the free school was to receive £100, and the country masters £10, per annum, 'to be paid out of the public treasury.' Donations were also made by private individuals to found academies in different parts of the state. Our author thus mentions one of them :—

'The academy at Childbury with its little cupola, situated near Strawberry-ferry on Cooper river, is now in ruins, and is the habitation of owls and bats. Just by, is a romantic little church, with its grave-yard and solemn grove of live oaks, from whose large and spreading branches masses of grey moss hang, with almost architectural arrangement, picturing to the fancy of the classical enthusiast gothic arches, festoons, and all the variety of tapestry and ornaments; and where the writer has often seen the prowling fox, loitering in the dusk of evening, with his mewing whine, awaiting nightfall, when he may prey upon the poultry of the neighbouring tavern, where the reader, should he ever travel for the gratification of romantic night-thoughts, church-yard walks, and good lodging, may be gratified in them all.'—p. 10.

Nothwithstanding this liberality, both of the legislature and of private lovers of literature, the colony still lacked the means of affording such an education as would place the natives on a level with emigrants reared in the European colleges; and 'none of the British provinces,' says Ramsay, 'in proportion to their numbers, sent so many of their sons to Europe for education as South Carolina.' This disadvantage continued to be more and more felt, until, in the year 1769, a bill was introduced into the legislature, to found a provincial college. Such, however, was the prevalence of aristocratical prejudice,—such the fear, that, by facilitating the acquisition of a liberal education, the conditions of men would be equalized,—that the project entirely failed. The revolution purified the atmosphere of this kind of influence; and, as soon as peace was fairly established, in 1785, the legislature, it should seem, were determined to make up for the discomfiture of 1769, and instituted *three* colleges on the same day,—one in Charleston, one in

Winnsborough, near the centre of the state, and the third in Cambridge, near its western extremity. But experience soon taught that this was going to the opposite extreme. These colleges, in due time, sunk into mere grammar-schools, and still continue in the same state. In 1795, the citizens of Beaufort obtained another charter for a college; but that soon shared the fate of the three others; and it was not until the year 1801, that the legislature hit upon the proper plan.

In that year a law was passed, 'with unexampled unanimity,' as Dr Ramsay informs us, to found a college, to be called *the South Carolina college*, at Columbia, the seat of government. The chief executive and judicial officers of the state, with thirteen associates elected by the legislature for a term of four years, constitute the trustees, who possess the sole power of inflicting the punishment of expulsion, and a negative on all suspensions. With these exceptions, the government of the college is in the hands of the 'faculty.'

The trustees having been empowered to make choice of certain public squares in Columbia, for a site for the college, 'selected a beautiful eminence to the south-east of the city, commanding a view of the country for many miles around; not indeed like the view from the state-house in Boston, embracing villages, steeples, and country houses, with the bay and its numerous islands, but affording to the north and west a prospect of the capital of South Carolina, one of the finest villages perhaps in America, with a population of three or four thousand inhabitants, and as refined a society as our country affords, and overlooking to the south an immense forest, of twenty or thirty miles in extent, and now and then interrupted in the uniformity of its appearance by some great cotton field, that stretches itself along the immense plains, through which the Congaree winds its way between its willow banks.'

The number and construction of the college edifices, as set forth by our author, appear adequate to the purposes of the institution, though with a brick building designed as an observatory, and the astronomical apparatus kept in it, he makes himself somewhat merry. The library consists of about five thousand volumes, and was selected by general Pinkney, judge De Saussure, and judge Johnson. The smallness of the library is a just subject of complaint; and we must be permitted to remark it as somewhat inconsistent with that claim to liberality, of which Carolinians so justly boast, that, after making such

ample provisions for planting a college, they should furnish so scanty a stock of the very *pabulum*, upon which it must subsist. If the three first essentials of oratory be *action*, the three first requisites of a college are *books;* and we think it was a fine conceit in the ten clergymen, who founded Yale college, that the only act necessary for the purpose was, each to bring three or four large books, and lay them on a table, saying, 'I give these books for the founding of a college.' Five thousand volumes would scarcely be considered as a decent library for a private gentleman in Europe. Our author mentions several persons in this country, who have twice as many volumes; and we fully adopt his sentiment, when he adds, 'a late writer in the clerk's office in Charleston had 2 or 3000; and will an independent sovereignty confine the whole body of her youth to 5000?'*

The faculty of the college consists of the president, a professor of the languages, a professor of mathematics, mechanical philosophy and astronomy, a professor of logic and moral philosophy, and a professor of chemistry and mineralogy. There are also two tutors, who superintend the freshman class. The salary of the president is 3500 dollars; that of the professors, 2000; that of the tutors, 1000.

There is but one vacation in the year, which includes the months of July, August, and September, and the annual commencement is holden in December. The course of studies prescribed resembles in general that which is followed at similar institutions in our country. It does not appear designed to introduce the students to a familiar acquaintance with ancient literature, and of course leaves them without that discrimination in the use of words, and that familiarity with the whole intellectual history of man, which can only be derived from the study of the ancient authors. An additional objection to the limited range prescribed to the study of the Latin and Greek is, that if more be not learned, the beginning made is worthless; and the student is condemned to waste years in the irksome and unprofitable task of conquering the elements of a language, of which he does not pursue the study far enough, to read its authors with ease or pleasure. We are happy to perceive, however, that an improvement has been made in this respect. By the former system of study, all attention to the learned

* There are five or six well selected private libraries of four or five thousand volumes in our immediate vicinity.

languages ceased at the expiration of the freshman year. They are now studied throughout the college life, although the selection of authors to be read is quite limited.

The legislature of South Carolina has manifested a praiseworthy liberality in its appropriations for the support of the institution at Columbia. The author before us has been at the pains of constructing a table to show the yearly and total expenses of South Carolina college; and from his results it appears, that the appropriations increased during the period between 1811 and 1820, from 10,000 to upwards of 15,000 dollars a year; the whole sum, for that time, being 138,659 dollars. Up to the year 1811, where our author's table commences, the annual and special appropriations had amounted to 148,000 dollars; so that the total sum of appropriations is 286,659 dollars. Among the articles, which make up this sum, we observe one of 3 or 400 dollars a year for the 'education of orphans.' In 1811 the legislature passed an act, empowering the commissioners of the orphan house in Charleston annually to select one of the boys educated and maintained by the bounty of that institution, for the purpose of completing his education at college. The expenses of such youth, except for clothing, are to be defrayed from the general appropriations to the college; and, for clothing, a special appropriation is to be annually made of 140 dollars to each individual.

Our remarks thus far regard the college of South Carolina. We must now devote a little space to those minor institutions, in which are taught 'the primary elements of learning,—reading, writing, and arithmetic.' This is the language of an act passed in 1811, to establish, in every district of the state, as many free schools as each district respectively sent members to the house of representatives. By *free* is meant that the tuition only is *free* to every citizen of the commonwealth: but, where the citizens are too numerous, the children of the necessitous and poor orphans are to be preferred. These schools are placed under the care of commissioners; who have full power 'of appointing teachers, determining the situation of schools, increasing or diminishing their number, arranging the system of instruction, of drawing on the comptroller for sums appropriated,' &c.

Three hundred dollars per annum were voted to each school, until sufficient funds should be provided; and, in 1815, the legislature began with an appropriation of 37,000 dollars a year,

which has been ever since regularly continued. Of the sums annually drawn out of the treasury by the commissioners, from 1812 to 1820, our author has constructed a table; from which it appears, that, for those eight years, 302,490 dollas had been expended by the state, upon this system of elementary education. But 'expended by the state' does not mean 'expended by the commissioners.' That these latter did not expend the money, as they ought, our author does not take it upon him to say; but he proves, by a laborious investigation, that they have not, as they ought, accounted for the expenditure of upwards of 100,000 dollars. And it appears, indeed, from the results presented in the pamphlet before us, that this bountiful system of charity, like most bountiful systems of the same kind, must have been egregiously mismanaged, and has come to little good. In 1813, for instance, nearly 40,000 dollars appears to have been drawn out; and no account given of it whatever. Nearly the same sum was taken out in 1817; in which year there were no returns from *thirty-one* districts, and, with this large sum, there was no evidence, that the education of more than 2,237 children was paid for!

These are only specimens; and truly they furnish our author a fair opportunity of referring to some of those instances of gross abuse in charters, which Mr Brougham's investigations in England have recently brought to light, and which, from a case mentioned in p. 39, appear to grow up as well in this country as in England.

'I shall,' says our author, 'fatigue the reader no longer with instances of abuses in foreign nations, but will barely mention that I have been informed, that one of our sister states, north of us, is at present a striking example of the difficulty of succeeding in this kind of charity schools. It is said, that in that state, many of the commissioners have actually hired poor children, for a small reward, to enter the schools, have their names registered, and after a short attendance, to decamp. The commissioner and master understand each other; the account for teaching the year or quarter so many scholars is made out, and paid, and thus the money is accounted for, and the plan to the legislature seems to be succeeding most prosperously;—at least the money is *well spent*.' p. 39.

What has been the particular mode of management in South Carolina our author has not stated; but he appeals to results, as furnishing evidence of the imperfection of the system, either

in design or execution. Of its actual operation in some places, he has given us a glimpse, which, to our readers in this part of the country, will appear almost too ludicrous to be credible :—

'I believe, in many instances, the teachers that have been employed, were as much in want of instruction as their pupils. I have heard that in some of the lower districts, they have actually converted the schools into a sort of gymnastic academies; where, instead of studying philosophy in the woods and groves, as the Druids did of old, they take delight in the more athletic exercise of deer and rabbit hunting; and that it is a fine sight to see the long, lean, serpentine "*master*," with his dial face and greasy rifle, looking like a very surveyor, at his stand, whilst the younger peripatetics are scouring the woods, and hallooing up the game.' p. 44.

Contrasted with these results of the free school system, our author displays the benefits, which the college has conferred upon South Carolinian society; and thence derives a strong argument, to convince the legislature how much wiser it would be to endow new professorships in the college, increase its library, and improve it in other respects, with a part of their 37,000 dollars, than to appropriate it all in a manner in which, at best, its utility is inferior, and in which it is so likely to be mismanaged. With regard to the influence on society of the institution of the college, our author makes the following remark, though it admits, perhaps, of question, whether all the effect should be ascribed to the college at Columbia alone, since it is well known that large numbers of the young men of Carolina are annually sent to Princeton, New-Haven, Providence, and Cambridge.*

'Some years ago, the middle and back country scarcely had a man who was well educated; and to many of the good old folks, when the wonders of the college came upon them, it appeared that all these curious inventions of chemistry, Greek, Latin, &c. had just been discovered since the revolutionary war—the event from which every thing that is excellent is dated. Now there is not a neighbourhood that has not intelligent, well educated young men. The young men, who have received liberal educations in this state, have a spirit and vivacity in conversation, that is not very common to any other nation, save the French. This gives them considerable influence upon society, and its effects are only to be

* We observe even in the late catalogue of the flourishing university at Lexington, Kentucky, the names of South Carolinians.

ascertained by comparing the present situation of South Carolina with its condition before the establishment of this college,—when all the refinement, all the influence and talents of the state were concentrated in Charleston; when the people in Charleston thought the upper country inhabited with savages, (some remnant of the same opinion remains still,) and those of the upper country thought the inhabitants of Charleston a womanish, enfeebled race of cits.'

Before closing this article, we beg leave to say a word of the judicious address of president Cooper, which we have named at the head of the article. It contains, in plain and perspicuous language, a series of very valuable remarks, addressed to the young gentlemen about to become graduates at the last commencement. We sincerely rejoice that the state of society is such, we will not say in South Carolina alone, but in any part of our country, that so liberal and ample a field of professional study, as this address prescribes, can any where even be recommended. We do not suppose that the mass of candidates who crowd into any of the professions, will allow themselves to be delayed by the noviciate which president Cooper marks out. But it augurs well to the cause of education, that a thorough course of reading in civil and continental law is enjoined on the student of law; and an acquaintance with the original language of the Old Testament and with the writings of the fathers of the four first centuries declared essential to the theologian; and classical literature to all engaged in these or any other professional pursuits. If we were to take any exceptions to the opinions of this judicious address, it would be to those which are expressed in disparagement of the art of oratory. While we unite with president Cooper in reprobating all abuses of that art, and every application to wrong ends of the power which it confers, we cannot allow that 'the whole history of ancient oratory shows that it was little else than the art of cheating the understandings of a gaping populace, by amusing their imaginations and exciting their passions; and that all modern oratory is to be held in the same estimation.' This seems to us at once an incorrect and a superficial view.—By public speaking in legislative, judicial, political, and religious assemblies, the highest temporal and eternal interests of men are most powerfully affected. Laws are made and abrogated, governments administered, preserved or overturned, justice dispensed, wrongs inflicted or redressed, the opinions men cherish on the highest points of moral and

religious concernment decided, and the whole complex social system in all its relations affected, by public speaking. Why then the art of doing this, the art of speaking well, should be a cheat in ancient or modern times, we see not. Does the president mean that to possess one's faculties before a formidable assembly, to speak the right word in the right place, to feel the intellectual and moral pulse of a mingled crowd of politicians, of citizens, or moral agents, and address them seasonably, judiciously, and effectually; to accompany what you speak with proper corresponding movements of the wonderful bodily organization which nature has made to act in sympathy with the soul,—does the president mean that this is 'that studied premeditated oratory which savors either of vanity or fraud?' Is it not the hardest thing which man can attempt, to do all this in perfection, without affectation, without extravagance? 'He who studies to be eloquent, will never study to be wise; a dealer in tropes, metaphors, allegories and similes, is seldom a dealer in facts.' Did not Pericles and Demosthenes study to be wise; did not Cicero, did not Chatham and Burke study to be wise? Eloquence is not one thing and wisdom another. Eloquence is wisdom speaking or wisdom writing; and as for tropes and metaphors, to which the president testifies such aversion, there are not many sentences in his own well written address, that do not contain a tropical or metaphorical expression:—there are two such expressions in the sentence of four lines, in which their use is condemned. Most language is tropical; and if the meaning of the president's precept is, that impertinent, unseasonable use of figurative language should be avoided, it is one part of the art of oratory, to teach the speaker to avoid it. The president approves 'that eloquence of the heart, which arises naturally, spontaneously from warmth of feeling in the course of debate.' We approve it too, but what is to give this eloquence of the heart, the power of modulating the voice, perhaps a feeble voice, so that it shall be heard through a vast hall by a crowd; what shall give it a happy ease and command of language, what shall furnish it with illustrations, instances, arguments, replies, ready distinctions against plausible objections, and furnish these too, in the hurry and press of a passionate debate? Put down an eloquent savage in congress, Logan or Red Jacket himself; would he be able to keep the house to the question, in the whirlwind of amendments, commitments, previous ques-

tions, and personalities? Put him down again in a court of justice; would he be able to lay a complicated train of facts intelligibly before the minds of a common jury, or direct the bench through a maze of almost equally balanced analogies, in a question of law? The heart is very honest, and must furnish, we grant, the orator's inspiration; and must itself be warmed by nature. But words, speech, action, debate, these are things, which nothing but the most laborious study, and the longest practice can enable the heart to command to best advantage. It is some consolation that this is no new theory, though a theory more reasonable we cannot imagine; for the greatest orators of ancient and modern times have united genius and study in equal degrees.

Art. XVII.—1. *The Club Room.* 8vo, Boston, 1821.
2. *The Idle Man.* New York.

It is so generally esteemed a violation of critical etiquette, for one periodical publication to enter into a formal examination of the merits of another, that we should not have ventured upon the works before us, which in this respect, have somewhat of the same generic character with ourselves, had we not farther considered, that it is the only point in which they do resemble us, and that to criticism in particular, they make no pretensions.

But before we commence our strictures, our readers will excuse us for making some reflections on the history and the value of a species of fine writing, which once acquired a high name in our mother country, and which, in a new and not less attractive dress, has grown into deserved favor in our own.

The only sample of essay writing, purporting to be such, and bearing any resemblance to a modern miscellany, that has come down to us from the ancients, is, we believe, the Attic Nights of A. Gellius, who flourished in the reign of Trajan, the declining days of Roman literature;—it is a farrago of independent facts, criticisms, and loose speculations. He enumerates in his preface several Grecian works of a similar nature, none of which have reached us; and it is much to be

regretted, as this kind of composition must have been peculiarly suited to the light, evanescent graces of the Greek language; and still more, as such works would have thrown a light, now much wanted, on the social habits of the age.

Bacon first made this species of writing popular with the English, by a series of essays, which will always be reverenced as a text book among English classics, for the compact yet simple form in which he has embodied the results of a deep observation in moral and social science. Cowley, fifty years after Bacon, still farther recommended this kind of composition, by his agreeable speculations on such subjects as were suggested by the native delicacy of his mind. Indeed he seems to have gone to prose, as to a relief from the unnatural part he was playing in poetry; and his essays must always reproach him for having sacrificed so beautiful a natural taste, to the absurdities of the metaphysical school. Temple and Shaftesbury are principally known by their essays, and prepared the way for what may be justly esteemed an epoch, not only in this department of fine writing, but in literature in general.

We allude to the periodical essays, introduced by Steele and Addison, and afterwards illustrated by some of the greatest wits and scholars in Great Britain. These periodical writings were peculiarly distinguished from all others, in the circumstance of their being suggested by the vices and fashionable follies of the day. They may be looked upon as a body of practical morality, illustrated by such living examples as daily occur in society. The merit of their introduction must be given exclusively to Steele; for although Theophrastus and La Bruyere have, in their essays, or sketches of charter, given a faithful register of the human heart, yet it is rather as the abstract speculations of philosophers, than with a view to a particular application: and even Montaigne, who made a still nearer approach to this kind of writing, differed in this material point, that as his examples were drawn from mankind at large, so his reflections were not peculiarly adapted to the state of society in which he lived; and thus the great object of the periodical writings of Steele, a reformation in the current follies and vices of the time, was neither intended nor effected by Montaigne.

The manner in which these essays were given to the world, on separate sheets, and with an interval of a few days between

the publication of each, distinguished them from every thing of the kind which had preceded them, and was a great cause of their popularity. The leading whim in the circle of fashion, whatever it might be, was immediately caught up by these censors of the public morals, stripped of its delusive colors, and exhibited in the severity of naked truth. There could be no want of subjects, either for raillery or satire, in the various dissipations of a court and a crowded metropolis. But it was fortunate, both for Steele and the world, that by an early association with so fine a genius as Addison, he was enabled to push his inquiries beyond the limited sphere of local and temporary interests into the higher walks of taste and criticism; to indulge in more exalted speculations in morals and in science; and thus not to enlighten one age or nation only, but all mankind.

We are desirous to express our opinion of the real merits of Addison, from the belief that the effort which of late years has been made, and we think justly made, to vindicate the reputation of the first writers, who broke up the 'virgin soil' of English literature, from the comparative obscurity into which they had been thrown, by the brightness of Queen Anne's day, has produced in some respects a too powerful reaction, and depreciated Addison in particular below his proper level, as a prose writer; and we are apprehensive that our readers may imagine that we undervalue his actual merits, since in furthering the same good cause, we have contented ourselves with calling their attention rather to excellencies, which he wanted, than to those which he possessed. But while we have no disposition to retract our former sentiments, while in vigor, exactness, fervent and original thinking, we consider him inferior to many both of the preceding and subsequent ages, we cannot deny, that in whatever is beautiful as distinguished from what is powerful, in polite wit, easy eloquence, calm philosophical reflection,—in short, in the perfect harmony of delicate sentiment and graceful expression, he has rarely, perhaps never, been equalled in English literature.

The popularity of the earliest essayists was almost incredible. Addison tells us in an early number of the Spectator, that 3000 copies were then daily distributed; and Chalmers somewhere mentions, that the circulation was afterwards increased to 14,000. The success of the first adventurers in-

duced a crowd of imitators; and the indefatigable Drake* (to whom we must acknowledge great obligations in our inquiries into, and our speculations upon, the present subject) has enumerated no less than two hundred and thirteen periodical papers, which intervened between the commencement of the eighteenth and that of the nineteenth centuries. A small proportion of these have been rescued from oblivion, some by their intrinsic merit, others from caprice, and now occupy a comfortable space on the shelves of most good libraries, under the general, although rather indefinite, denomination of the British Classics.

This collection is composed of so many contradictory ingredients, that it is difficult to speak of its character as a whole, which is to be found only in the distinguishing properties of each individual essayist. We may talk of the stern dignified morality of Johnson, the oriental magnificence of Hawkesworth, the polite irony of Chesterfield, the learned criticism of Cumberland, and the rich pathos of M'Kenzie; but these, although the most prominent features in their respective works, convey but a faint notion of their characters; and we have not time to go into a deeper discussion of them. We will only remark, in general, that while they contain much of undeniable value, in criticism, fictitious narrative, allegory, humorous satire, and many excellent speculations in religious and moral science; they also contain a great deal that is absolutely worth nothing, from the manner in which it is executed, and the subjects upon which it is employed. We do not object to a well written piece, because the subject happens to be local, and no longer interesting, any more than we would object to the admission of a good portrait into a gallery of paintings, because the original is some obscure individual; if it is well done, that is enough, and will give it a permanent value as a work of art; but, in fact, many of these essays are not only upon mean subjects, but executed by very indifferent masters. Many of them are still farther exceptionable on the score of their gross indelicacy; and the Connoisseur, in particular, should on this ground be excluded from the collection; although we think it would be difficult to establish any ground on which it

* Drake has devoted five full duodecimos to the British essayists; and in the Gleaner, a work of three volumes, has compiled, from many obscure periodical publications, several essays of considerable individual merit, but which would have been lost in the uninteresting mass with which they were associated. We recommend his works to a perusal of those who have inclination to pursue these inquiries more into detail.

ought ever to have been admitted into such good company. It is remarkable that Goldsmith's essays, in which an acute knowledge of mankind is so delightfully set off by the singular naïveté of his own character, should not have been incorporated among the British classics. His Citizen of the World belongs to this department of writing more properly than to any other, and would confer at least as much honor as it would receive from such an association. In short, after a careful examination of these volumes, we cannot but think that they now occupy a space on our shelves very disproportionate to their merits; and were a judicious expurgation to be made of such pieces as are evidently the work of inferior hands, and originally intended only to supply such deficiences, as must often occur to the most fruitful mind in the recurrence of periodical composition, we think much useless expense might be saved to the purchaser, and enough still remain of genuine value to insure them a place in every library.

In our preceding remarks we have considered these essays, in reference to their value, as samples of *literature*; we will now, under favor of our readers, subjoin a few reflections on the influence which some of them have exerted over the English *language;* an influence perfectly accountable, as many of them were written with the avowed purpose of forming a polite taste in letters, and most of them claimed to be specimens of classical composition.

The English language was long in arrear of its literature; and has been gradually matured under a slow assiduous cultivation. Intellectual excellence may exist at any period; but excellence of language can only be obtained by labor and experience. It must be purified from terms merely synonymous, barren expletives, exotic idioms, before it can become vigorous and precise; and there must be many examples of false taste and barbarous jargon, before there can be created a high acknowledged standard of refinement and harmony. From these causes, English prose ripened slowly into perfection, and did not attain its ultimate polish until nearly two centuries after its literature had reached an elevation, which perhaps no subsequent age has surpassed. The first of those writers in English prose, whose works still continue to be the manual of every good scholar, were enabled to create them at that early period, by an unprecedented *vigor* of original genius. They were adventurers where man had never trod before, and

strength was more serviceable than either delicacy or grace, in overcoming the numerous obstacles of an untravelled literature. Of course it was on their strength that they chiefly relied. They thought what they should say, not how they should say it. The vocabulary was, it is true, sufficiently copious for all the purposes of an elegant literature; but they were laying the foundation stones of that literature, and in the selection, they thought only of solidity and strength, and wisely left the study of grace and proportion to those who should come after them.

Indeed, where they aimed at a display of taste, they generally failed. Good taste must grow out of long cultivation. It is by comparison only that one thing is pronounced beautiful, another not. They had no standard of comparison;—they wrote in a new tongue, compounded of many others it is true, but entirely like none. As was natural, however, they endeavoured to fashion it, as closely as possible, after the manner of the most polished language to which it bore any resemblance. The Latin accordingly was the model, by which all the writers of that day more or less governed themselves. In doing this, much violence was offered to the Saxon idiom; and this exclusive introduction of a Latin manner into a language, in which a great proportion of words was of Teutonic origin, made it at once formal, intricate, and ungraceful. The following remark of sir Thomas Browne, who, in the succeeding age, both inculcated and exemplified to the most absurd extent this adoption of a foreign idiom, will show how generally the same design had been pursued by men of letters. 'If elegancy still proceedeth,' says he, in his Enquiries into Vulgar Errors, 'and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall, within a few years, be fain to learn Latin to understand English, and a work will prove of equal facility in either.' This excessive infusion of the Latin, however, although unfortunate in other respects, much invigorated our language by the magnificence of its vocabulary, and the sententious structure of its periods. We have said, that where the early writers aimed at a show of taste, they generally failed. They were taken with gaudy images and foolish conceits, as barbarians are captivated by glaring colors and glittering tinsel; finery they mistook for beauty. Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia is an example in point, which, in spite of its wild romantic sweetness, is going fast in-

to oblivion from this insufferable affectation. The euphuisms and the quibbles which found their way into the most serious discourses in the reign of James I, (that monarch of punning memory,) are a still more melancholy exemplification of perverted taste.

The violence of party spirit during the civil wars, and the acrimonious topics upon which the pen was chiefly employed, were unfavorable to the development or the cultivation of grace in composition. Milton, the most distinguished writer of the day, who, as Wordsworth has remarked, ' though a Hebrew in soul, was deeply imbued with classical literature,' constrained his rich and glorious imagination into the rigid inversions of the Latin idiom; and it was not until the Restoration, that this preposterous accommodation of a living language, to the genius of a dead one, was entirely laid aside. There was still, however, a lingering of the pedantry of the former age, which threw a shade over the glowing compositions of some of the finest geniuses of any age or country; but this wore off by degrees, under the influence of the social, though licentious manners of the court of Charles II, which naturally introduced a less stately, and a more free and familiar style, both of thinking and writing. This was bringing the language nearer to the tone of ordinary life; and, notwithstanding what may be said of ' wells of old English undefiled,' there is much more of the genuine raciness of its native soil in it thus improved, than in the stiff and latinized phraseology of older writers. Dryden, by the variety and flow of his periods, was the first to bring into disrepute the staid formalities of his predecessors. But Cowley, who is perhaps never more a poet than in his prose compositions, set the first example in his essays, (as has been sagaciously remarked by Murphy,*) of that sweet, easy, and perfectly natural manner, which was afterwards still farther recommended by the pure taste of Tillotson and Temple, and finally brought to a high polish under the graceful genius of Addison. Indeed, Addison professed to have modelled his style almost exclusively upon Tillotson; but he is neither so feeble nor so prolix, and it is easy to discover in him a much nearer resemblance to the naïveté and elegant simplicity of sir William Temple.

The English language has received its greatest impulses under the patronage of female sovereigns. Under Elizabeth it was subdued, and under Anne, if not perfected, was at least

* Vide Murphy's Essay on the Genius of Dr Johnson.

put in the right road to perfection. Many coexisting circumstances united to produce such a refinement of language at this latter period. The intimacy into which the higher ranks had been thrown of late years with the French nation, and consequently with its literature, by their own domestic convulsions, had, as has been often remarked, an unfavorable effect upon English verse. It introduced that cold mechanical structure, to which the English heroic measure was almost equally well adapted with the French. But it was otherwise in prose, and the gay colloquial graces of the French tongue had a favorable influence upon the cumbrous pedantry of the English. In the further advancement of letters, criticism came now to be studied. Men had already seen a sufficient number of examples in every kind of writing, to form a high standard of excellence. The men in office, too, under queen Anne, were (as has been well observed by Drake) more or less imbued with a taste for letters, and were thus enabled, by authority as well as by inclination, to inculcate their literary partialities.

But a principal cause of the refinement of style at this period is to be attributed to the peculiar intellectual character of the existing writers, and of Addison more than all the rest. This character was not marked by the exuberant imagination, or intense feeling, or bold hardy energy of the preceding age; but by a subtle and ingenious wit, shrewd observation, and acute delicacy of taste. The turn of thought, induced by this constitution of mind, naturally disclosed itself in a style best suited to the exhibition of its peculiar beauties; a style which by its simple, conversational, and idiomatic character, was well adapted to light familiar topics, or to calm, philosophical reflection, or to sober, dispassionate reasoning; which, although not powerful or adventurous, and exceedingly loose and incorrect, might yet rise by an easy flow into a high pitch of graceful eloquence, and which, free from inversion, pedantry and art of any kind, might win its way to the heart by the expression of natural sentiment in the most natural manner. These qualities constitute the *substratum*, the primitive basis on which the style of queen Anne's day was formed; and it is curious to observe the different effect produced by the action of different individual tastes on this general basis. In Swift, for instance, we see the most homely and even vulgar images, connected by the general tenor of this pure and

perspicuous style; and the gaudy and studied fancies which abound in most of the prose writings of Pope, sparkle only on the surface of the same sweet natural diction. But it was most happily suited to the simple genius of Addison. Indeed he recommended it no less by the critical precepts, than by the example of his periodical writings; and to these, more than to any other cause, must be referred the introduction of a polite taste in English composition, at the commencement of the last century.

Still much remained to be done, to a perfect organization even of this pure style of composition, which was often loose, feeble, and ungrammatical. The successive labor of many fine writers gradually supplied these defects, and made it both vigorous and correct; and before the appearance of the Rambler in 1750, it had been carried to a point which it cannot hope to surpass in the gracefulness of Melmoth, and the Attic simplicity of Hume.

The publication of the Rambler forms an important era in the history of English style. Johnson would have been fitted by his giant strength to have grappled with all the obstacles that impeded the first adventurers in our language. He was therefore well fitted for the mighty task which he assumed in a riper period of that language of reclaiming the ἔπεα πτερόεντα, those fleeting beauties which had already escaped in the lapse of years, and of preventing their future progress to oblivion, by chaining them down to a permanent standard of accurate definition. His researches as a lexicographer no doubt much contributed to the elaborate pomp of his diction, by storing it with all the obsolete terms of a copious vocabulary. But he was still farther led to it by the natural complexion of his mind. He wanted a language that would afford scope for the free play of a grand and vigorous intellect; he would have broken through the fine and delicate texture of the style of Addison. He accordingly preferred the sententiousness of a Latin idiom; he was a great admirer of Browne*, who, as we before remarked, was more distinguished than any of the elder writers for antiquated, latinized phraseology; Johnson would, in all probability, therefore, have attempted to reintroduce the old fashioned dialect, but happily the taste of the age was too far advanced to admit of it, and he substituted a measured antithetical construction of sentence, which although in the highest degree artificial, was both more elegant

* Vide Murphy.

and more conformable to the idiom of his native tongue, than the awkward inversions of the old school. He still farther invigorated his language with a great number of Latin derivatives, and technical terms of science. By these expedients he built up a grand and imposing style, well fitted for the exhibition of brilliant fancy and powerful thought, but very ill adapted to the common purposes and every day business of life.

These two peculiar manners of Addison and of Johnson may be looked upon as the extreme and opposite points in English composition, which no writer can go beyond without feebleness on the one hand, or bombast on the other. Indeed these are the faults to which their respective styles have a natural tendency; where extraordinary efforts are demanded, the former manner seems tame and cold, while in the familiar topics of common life, the latter has a truly ridiculous air of ostentatious formality. Many examples of these failures may be found both in the Spectator and the Rambler, and still more in the productions of their countless imitators.

The Rambler was not in great demand at the time of its publication; but it made a permanent impression on the character of English style, and by presenting a captivating model of vigorous composition, has done much to preserve the energies of the language, from being frittered away under the servile and humble followers of Addison. New beauties constantly developed themselves under these mutual influences; and as philological criticism soon advanced the grammar of the tongue to a high degree of accuracy, we may look upon the last half of the last century, a period embellished by the pens of Hume, Johnson, Hawkesworth, Goldsmith, Burke, Robertson, Gibbon, Junius, and M'Kenzie, as the Augustan age of English fine writing; (our remarks will be understood as applying to language, and not to literature;) a period in which precision, perspicuity, copiousness, grace and vigor, in short whatever constitutes the perfection of style, were carried to a height which has not since been surpassed, and seldom been equalled.

English composition, then, may be said to have reached its meridian during the last half of the eighteenth century; what its tendencies have since been, and what they are now, forms an interesting subject of inquiry; and we trust our readers will pardon us, if we make a few general reflections

upon it, although we fear we have already trespassed upon their patience, by the length of our remarks on the influence of periodical writings.

Language, no less than literature, has a constant tendency to change; what is capable of being made more perfect, is also capable of becoming less so, and with this principle of revolution within it, having once reached its *acme* of perfection, its next tendency must obviously be to decay. Both reflection and the experience of past ages will suggest to us several causes perpetually acting to produce such a revolution, and will enable us to determine with some degree of accuracy, its probable symptoms. The art of printing, a cause unknown to the ancients, is extremely unfavorable to the general preservation of a pure standard of composition, since by the increased relish, and consequently the increased demand for books, which it creates, it induces the ignorant to write, and the learned to write rapidly, and of course negligently. Thus the language becomes debased alike in the hands of dunces, and of men of genius; and we think we may see examples of this, every day of our lives.

Another cause of depreciation is the tendency to abstract speculation, which seems to prevail most in the advanced age of a nation. Philosophy shines brightest in the last page of Grecian literature: it cheered the decline of the Roman; and in Great Britain, the fondness for metaphysical science seems to have grown with the growth of the people, and, so far from being confined to prose, at the present day enters deeply into the very spirit of her poetry. Now the influence of all this upon language is decidedly bad, inasmuch as it tends to substitute the complex abstract phraseology of science, for the simple intelligible dialect, which naturally grows out of the habit among the earliest writers of directing their attention to the visible objects of external nature.

A third source of this adulteration (paradoxical as it may appear) is the tendency to excessive refinement. Language in time gets to be cultivated as a luxury; sound is preferred to sense; and even good writers, infected with the same effeminacy, grow dissatisfied with the simple familiar forms of antiquity, and superadd the embellishments of their own more luxurious taste.

A fourth and a last cause, and which is most operative on feeble minds, is that indiscriminate passion for notoriety, which

prompts them, in the despair of obtaining it by surpassing their predecessors in the right way, to deviate into all sorts of affectation and conceit.

With these causes at work to undermine the purity of a language, it requires the utmost vigilance to preserve it long in a healthful and vigorous state. The symptoms above enumerated indicated the corruption of the Latin tongue; and perhaps a curious observer might fancy, that he already discerned something like these symptoms of degeneracy in the style of the popular English compositions of the present day. A few examples must suffice to explain our meaning.

A favorite manner with some, even of the best writers of our time, is that ornamented and highly artificial style, which is well illustrated by the philosophical writings of Stewart. No model of fine writing enjoys greater celebrity. Now we cannot but think, that for the severe subjects upon which it is employed, this manner is the very worst possible, and every way inferior to the chaste and simple diction of his learned predecessor, Dr Reid; indeed, whatever may be the subject, we think such a fastidious selection of melodious epithets, such a copious expansion both of imagery and illustration, inconsistent with directness, manly vigor, or simplicity of thought.

Although this effeminate taste has prevailed to excess of late years, among the Scottish writers more particularly, yet we think it is not so prevalent, nor half so pernicious, as that mystical, fine spun, indefinite phraseology, whose object seems to be, rather to conceal thought, than to express it. Coleridge's Auto-Biography, Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk, (both of which have gone into American editions,) are two examples among others that occur of this popular species of writing. It seems to have been borrowed from the very worst manner of the German mystics. Writers of this class never talk directly to the purpose. They explain to you what a thing is, by enumerating all that it is not, and, in the management of their ideas, remind us of the manner in which our Indians are said to have treated their captives, setting them up as marks for their arrows, not to hit, but to come as near to them as possible without hitting. They have also great proneness to abstract speculation, to which their mystical dialect is admirably fitted; and should the reader escape from this double darkness, without being utterly confounded, he will carry off such cloudy indistinct notions of things, as will be of very little service to him in his intercourse with the world.

A third, perhaps the most numerous, and certainly the most contemptible class of writers, consists of those, who, from corrupt taste, or a greedy appetite for notoriety, wander from the plain and beaten track into all kinds of affectation. The most current of these affectations is an uncommon familiarity, even homeliness of manner, and a forced, foolish sensibility, which claims to be extreme naturalness. All this is very pitiable, and, if widely cultivated, would in a short time melt down the very marrow of our language into the insipid prattle of a nursery dialect. The best sample in this way is found in the productions of a body, who (as we have somewhere remarked in a previous number) have obtained a niche for themselves in the temple of contemporary fame, as the Cockney school; and who, first in poetry and afterwards in prose, established their claim to this title, no less by the smart city air of their sentiments, than by the seat of their peculiar jurisdiction. We regret that the influence of these writers should not have been circumscribed by their own Cockney land; and still more deeply, that they should have found some men of unquestionable genius on this side of the Atlantic, who have condescended to adopt their puerile affectations.

From what we have said, we would not have it understood as our opinion, that English style has suffered any material or general debasement, or that it is in any immediate danger; on the contrary, when we consider the unprecedented fertility of the press of late years, we are astonished at its purity, and we could select many fine writers of the present day, whose chaste and eloquent diction would adorn the most flourishing period of the English language, no less than of its literature. But we do think, that we should always be solicitous for the preservation of beauties so delicate and perishable in their nature, as forms of expression, and that we should not only expose, and guard against corruption, but against the least tendency to corruption. We are the more solicitous, from the peculiar relation in which we stand to England, in this respect, a new people with an old language. Our own streams are fed from the more copious fountains of her literature; and if these are in the least degree contaminated, how shall ours escape the pollution?

The style hitherto predominating in the compositions of men of education in our own country, has been for the most part that plain, unvarnished style, better fitted to give information

than delight; well suited to an intelligible disclosure of facts, but foreign to all the ambitious purposes of fine writing. Still we have had examples of this in more than one name, that will be remembered with gratitude by posterity. Franklin, Dennie, Ames, and Buckminster, to mention no others, have left us evidence of the distinctive physiognomy of their minds, no less in the peculiar merits of their style, than of their sentiments; and many more, were it not invidious, might be enumerated, who, in the present increasing appetite for letters, are cultivating with success the most refined beauties of English composition. The Sketch Book, however, is the only one pertinent to our purpose, as developing a new form, and constituting the last link in the series of periodical essay writing.

We ought not, however, to omit the fashion, which essay writing assumed, under the auspices of a confederacy of men of wit and learning, first in Scotland, and not long after in England, at the commencement of the present century. We allude to the Edinburgh, and the Quarterly Reviews, which (very different from any thing that had before passed under the same title) may be considered as a miscellany of independent essays on every possible variety of topic, suggested and illustrated by the most recent publications. The extreme popularity soon acquired amongst all classes by this new kind of writing, treating as it did of matters in abstruse science and solid literature, no less than of polite taste and superficial criticism, is a powerful evidence of a far more extended and a deeper cultivation in the mass of good society, than existed in the days of the Spectator. What has been the influence of these Reviews, or of this kind of writing in general, for it has been liberally imitated, is an interesting subject of discussion, but this is not the place for it. We will only add, that it may be considered fortunate for the cause of truth and of good taste, that every subject, whether religious, political, or literary, has been discussed upon opposite principles in these two leading Reviews; and that whatever, in other respects, may be their individual merits or demerits, we must always remain grateful to the one, for the diligence and the discrimination it has manifested in bringing before the public the long neglected beauties of old English literature; and to the other, both for the accuracy of that geographical research, which has enabled it to make an important addition to the sum of human knowledge,

and for its solicitude in preserving the English tongue, by precept and example, in the perfection of its classical purity.

That species of periodical essay writing, which had continued in Great Britain,* with little intermission, from the first appearance of the Tatler, disappeared under this extreme popularity of reviews and magazines. It has, however, arisen within a few years in our own country, with new and very different attractions. The Sketch Book certainly forms an epoch in the history of this kind of literature; for although of the same generic character with the British essayists, it has many important specific peculiarities. The former were written, as we have before remarked, with a direct moral tendency, to expose and to reform the ignorance and the follies of the age. The Sketch Book, on the other hand, has no direct moral purpose, but is founded on sentiment and deep feeling. In its comic scenes (which by the bye we think its best) we have the broad caricature of a truly original humor, but not a faithful delineation of the state of society in any age or place. Neither do the beautiful pictures of English life hold out any direct moral aim, but are distinguished by the same rich coloring of sentiment that pervades, and, in fact, gives a character to the whole work. In one word, as the principal object of the British essayists was to instruct, so they have for the most part given a picture of common life, in simple language; while the principal object of the Sketch Book, being to delight, scenes only of exquisite emotion are selected, and painted in the most exquisite, but artificial language.

We confess, that we are somewhat apprehensive of the influence of a work, uniting such uncommon richness of thought and expression, upon our general taste, and doubt it may give younger readers, at least, a disrelish for the more simple and less stimulating compositions of Goldsmith and of Addison. Of one thing we are positive, that it is the very worst model in the world for the imitation of writers, especially of young writers, who, wanting genuine sensibility, will only expose the beggarly condition of their thoughts the more, by arraying them in this gorgeous apparel.

* Had we space, it would be an interesting occupation to trace the development of periodical composition, in our own country, through a series of magazines and literary journals, some of them of great merit, and of miscellaneous essays, bearing too near a resemblance to the general design of the British essayists, to admit here of a particular specification: in which latter class, the Old Bachelor and the Salmagundi may be cited as productions of the greatest merit.

The Sketch Book has been followed by several other works on the same general plan of publication. Of these the most known here are the Club Room and the Idle Man. The former, as is evident from the variety and inequality both of its manner and matter, is the work of several hands, and was discontinued, without any assigned reason, after having grown into a lean volume of something less than two hundred pages. The latter is as obviously the work of one individual, and is now publishing in separate numbers, and at irregular intervals, at New-York.

The uncommon merits and popularity of the Sketch Book are in themselves a great obstacle to the immediate success of a work fashioned upon any thing like a similar principle; and however general might be the resemblance, were it merely formal, a comparison would very naturally be made between the two productions, and the latter, although possessing considerable individual merit, be much depreciated by it. The Club Room not only incurred this disadvantageous comparison, by the general design of the publication, but we think, in one or two instances, very injudiciously authorized it, by an adoption of similar topics, and a similar current of thought, in which, as might be expected, cold conceits, and forced sentiment are but indifferent imitations of the warm effusions of genuine sensibility. In other parts of the work, again, we have reason to complain of a negligence or want of finish, which betrays the youth and the inexperience of the writer.

A work of this nature, conducted by several minds, possesses a great advantage over that directed by one only, in the greater variety it affords both of matter and manner. We become in time familiarized even to the excellencies of a writer, which, unless relieved by the contrast of an opposite manner and turn of thought, are apt to weary us with their monotony. There is, however, a corresponding disadvantage resulting from this variety, in the want of unity and continued interest, which, without much care, it will occasion to the work. The only means of remedying this, is the early introduction of one or more characters, as in the Tatler, Spectator, &c. who by an uniform consistency, an identity of sentiment and conduct, may form a rallying point for all the light, scattered pieces of such a publication. Now this was injudiciously neglected by the writers in the Club Room, who made no use even of the club of characters introduced in the

prefatory chapter. By this negligence, they voluntarily gave up their only method of exciting in the bosom of the reader, that perpetually increasing interest which would lead him to be blind to many deficiencies in his author, or to supply them from the excited state of his own imagination.

With all these deductions, however, the work contains several pieces of considerable pretension both to beauty of composition, and to originality of invention. Indeed, in the exertion of this faculty, we think it most successful. We will make a few short extracts, and let them speak for themselves.

A piece, entitled the 'The Village Grave-Yard,' is pregnant with a solemn strain of sentiment, (indeed somewhat too solemn for the general character of the work,) which, in more than one place, reaches very near to sublimity. We select the following eloquent climax as some evidence of the truth of our observation, although so short an extract can do no justice to the merits of the article.

'I never shun a grave-yard—the thoughtful melancholy which it inspires, is grateful rather than disagreeable to me. It gives me no pain to tread on the green roof of that dark mansion, whose chambers I must occupy so soon—and I often wander from choice, to a place where there is neither solitude nor society. Something human is there—but the folly, the bustle, the vanities, the pretensions, the competitions, the pride of humanity are gone. Men are there, but their passions are hushed, and their spirits are still—malevolence has lost its power of harming—appetite is sated, ambition lies low, and lust is cold—anger has done raving, all disputes are ended, all revelry is over, the fellest animosity is deeply buried, and the darkest sins are safely confined by the thickly-piled clods of the valley—vice is dumb and powerless, and virtue is waiting in silence for the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God.'

In 'Recollections,' we have the narrative of an apparition, artfully contrived throughout, and the mind of the reader is insensibly led on to the expectation of some supernatural event, by a chain of mysterious and pensive meditation. The subject of the narrative is a young German, of an abstract, visionary temper, who in a journey to the place of residence of his betrothed bride, is overtaken by the night at a lonely inn in the midst of an extensive forest. After a suitable description of the desolate, dilapidated condition of the ancient edifice, he thus proceeds:

'I extinguished the light and lay down without undressing; but the thought and scenes of the evening had taken strong hold of my mind, and I could not sleep. I did not feel troubled, but there was an intensity of thought and feeling within me, that seemed waiting for some great object on which to expend itself. I rose and walked to the window: the moon was shining beautifully bright, but the forest was so thick that her light only glanced on the tops of the trees, and showed nothing distinctly. All was silent and motionless—not a breeze, not a sound, not a cloud—the earth was dim and undistinguishable, the heavens were filled with a calm light, and the moon seemed to stand still in the midst. I know not how long I remained leaning against the window and gazing upward, for I was dreaming of things long past, of which I was then, though I knew it not, the only living witness; when my attention was suddenly recalled by the low but distinct sound of some one breathing near me. I turned with a sudden thrill of fear, but saw nothing.'

The breathing becomes still more distinct; and after an earnest but fruitless scrutiny, he continues,

'I sat down on the bed in great agitation, and it was a considerable time before I could at all compose my mind—the fact was certain, but the cause inscrutable. I rose and walked across the chamber.

'I made three or four turns, and gradually recovered my tranquillity, though still impressed with the belief, that what I had heard was no natural sound. I was not now in a state to be easily deluded, for my senses were on the alert, but my mind perfectly calm. The old floor groaned under every tread, but the noise excited in me no alarm; I did not even turn when the planks sprung and cracked behind me long after my foot had left them. But, good God! what were my feelings when I heard distinct footsteps following my own! the light tread of naked feet. I stopped instantly just as I had made a step—the tread ceased, and a moment after I heard a foot brought up as if to support the walker in this unexpected pause. Could it be echo? I struck my foot upon the floor—the sound was short and sullen, and was not repeated—I walked on, but the steps did not follow; I turned and paused again—all was still. I walked back, and as I reached the spot where the sound had ceased—whether I heard or saw it I cannot tell, but something passed me, and a soft sigh floated along with it, dying away in distance like the moaning of a gentle wind. It was indistinct as it passed, but as I listened to catch its last lingering, I knew the voice of Gertrude! "Hermann," it said, in a tone so tender and mournful, that my eyes filled with tears, and I seemed to hear it long after it had ceased.

"Gertrude," I cried aloud; the same sweet sigh answered me, and for an instant I caught the dark beam of her eye; there was no form, but I saw her own look, that deep melancholy gaze—it was but a moment and it was gone. "Gertrude," I cried again, "if it be thou, do not fly me, come to me, beloved!" A pause of deeper silence followed; my eyes were fixed on the air where I had lost her, when the shadows at the extremity of the chamber began to move like the waving of a garment; their motion at first was indefinite and hardly perceptible, but gradually increased till they parted and rolled away, leaving a brighter space in the middle. This had at first no determinate form, but soon began to assume the outlines of a human figure. I shall never forget the sensations of that moment, my hair rose, my flesh crept, and drops of sweat rolled fast down my cheeks; yet it was not fear. I cannot describe the emotion with which I watched the figure growing more and more distinct, and even when I saw the face of my own Gertrude, all thoughts of earth were swallowed up in those of eternity; I stood in the presence of a spirit, and felt myself immortal! The triumph was short, it was too like herself, the eyes were closed, but it was her own graceful form, though attenuated and almost transparent—her own face, pale and languid, but oh, how beautiful! at last the eyes opened—they alone were unchanged, and they gazed on me with a tenderness I could not bear—I sunk on my knees and hid my face, I felt her approach; I did not raise my eyes, but I knew she was near me by a glow of more than human happiness; a hand was laid upon my head—"Hermann," said the same sweet voice, "dear Hermann! but one year more!" and the sound floated away. I looked up, she was already disappearing, she smiled on me, and the form faded, and the shadows gathered over it.

I had sunk on the floor exhausted; the first feeling I remember, was one of unutterable grief and loneliness; but the next was joy at the thought that I was not to endure it long—"but one year more and I shall be with thee forever." I could not feel more certain of any fact of my own experience, than that Gertrude was dead, and I should soon follow.'

This is the apparition of a very poetical imagination, and in the light, evanescent colouring in which it is revealed, reminds us of the delicate spirits of Ossian, through whose 'shadowy forms the stars were dimly seen to twinkle.'

We will make an extract from one more piece only, 'The Voyage of Discovery.' It is the sketch of a lively fancy, and professes, in a letter from the North Pole, to give an account of that hitherto undiscovered region of fairy-work. The nat-

ural phenomena of the polar seas are well set off in the embellishments of a playful imagination.

'To those who are fond of building castles out of the summer cloud, I would by all means recommend a voyage into the northern seas; as there is an infinite deal more variety, more of the sublime, more of the grotesque and fanciful, in the clear blue ice, which here shoots up like a steeple glittering in the sun to the height of a hundred fathoms—there floats majestically a huge ruined castle, with its moat and drawbridge, its massive archway, its mighty battlements, its broken galleries and crumbling towers. Sometimes a whole Dutch city seems to be moving over the face of the waters; every thing square and regular, the shiny roofs just peering above the waves, and, upon a nearer view, the very terraces and stoops, where I have imagined I could discern the rich burgomaster himself, puffing his tranquil pipe. And then by a sudden turn of the ice, it would change into an India fleet under full sail, royal and studding-sails stretching to the wind, every thing full of life and motion. Or, as it bore down upon me, some mighty cavern would open to my view, where I could distinctly see the solemn interior of a Gothic church; the dark vaulted roof, the long pillared aisle, and the pointed window, while the blue rays darting from within seemed to shed a glory over the whole. And then again the scene would shift to a rich and various landscape, mountains and rivers, fields and forests, cities and villages growing into view.'

The adventurous navigator arrives at the capital, and is presented at the very court of Winter, and in the palace of his frozen majesty is unexpectedly introduced to several notable personages, with whom he had before some slight acquaintance in his own country.

'I instantly knew that I must have arrived at the chamber of the Winds, and, looking upward, I beheld a crowd of spirits drawn up in the threshold to oppose my passage, who were blowing at me with all their might. Two, who stood foremost in the group, were particularly formidable. The nearest of these, who had just crawled out of a deep and murky den upon my right, had a dark, sour, weatherbeaten face, which I could but just discern through the thick mist in which he was enveloped, and under which I observed him endeavouring to conceal a rough and ragged-edged knife. I immediately recognized him as one of the great leaders of the Winds, known with us by the name of North-Easter, who is accustomed to sit and watch at the entrance of our cities and harbors for whole weeks together; and if peradventure he should catch any unlucky wight upon his way, unprotected by an impe-

netrable coat of mail, he pounces upon him, as a spider upon his prey, wraps him in his mantle of fog, as in a cobweb, drags him to his den, and there murders him at leisure with his dull and torturing implement of death.

'The other I took to be Boreas. He was a tall, active, athletic-looking fellow, with a fine open countenance, though exceedingly fierce, and in his right hand he brandished a double-edged sword, that was as bright and as sharp as a razor. I took care not to get quite within its reach, though, as he sometimes made a blow at me, I felt myself almost cut in twain by the mere wind of the stroke.

'While I stood hesitating on the course to be pursued in this extremity, a figure, clothed in black armor, made its appearance in the back ground. As it drew nearer, I perceived that it was a short, thick-set, middle-aged man, of a grave demeanor, and rather a heavy-moulded countenance, but about whom there was still something uncommonly *attractive;* for, as he beckoned me to him, which he did without altering a muscle of his face, I felt myself moving in the same sort of way, and with as little will of my own as the straws on an electric plate. My musket first started off in a right line with its muzzle towards him, and then, as if pulled by an irresistible weight, the arm which was holding it followed;—one of my legs next flew up at right angles to the other, and presently my whole frame began to glide along, like one of the side-scenes of a theatre, with an accelerated velocity, the winds opening to the right and left for my passage, until I came musket and leg slap up against the grave gentleman in black. I was about to apologize for the awkwardness of the situation; but he had turned his back upon me at the instant of our meeting, and, without uttering a single syllable, or seeming to mind the shock in the least, began to climb the steep and slippery ascent, drawing me after him, without stopping to permit any change of position, in the same odd and mysterious way. Surely, thought I, (for I did not dare to open my lips,) this can be no less than that mighty wizard of the north, whom we are accustomed to call Magnetism!

'The huge cavern, into which we were travelling, grew darker and darker as we receded from its entrance, till at length we were in perfect gloom, when a dazzling light flashed suddenly before me, and I beheld, a little above, a most beautiful female, clad in a robe of fire, leaping from crag to crag, in a thousand fantastic attitudes, and constantly dancing before us, like the celebrated Will-of-the-wisp. Nothing could be more resplendent than the arched roof of icicles, and the pale green pillars which supported it, illuminated by this living flame, which glanced and glittered from every peak. From the brilliance of the figure, the rapidity and eccentricity of her motions, I took her to be Electri-

city; and I could plainly perceive, from certain side-long glances and coquettish airs, that she had taken a great shine to my sable conductor.'

The piece throughout is in good keeping, written with a sprightly humor, and although without a moral either obvious or implied, is upon the whole as creditable to the work as any thing in it; and the personifications are sometimes delineated with a graphical spirit, not unworthy of a disciple of Spenser. We have said, that there is no moral inculcated by this article; but we do not think the worse of it, or of the work in general, on that account. Fine writing, simply as such, maintains as wholesome an influence over the character, as most poetry, painting, sculpture, or any other of the fine arts,

> 'Which, though to the eye
> Idlesse it seem, hath its morality,'

by furnishing another source of innocent recreation, and by withdrawing the ever craving appetite of man, from the pleasures of sense, to the purer pleasures of the intellect. This consideration should have weight with those who, measuring works of this description by their cynical standard of *cui bono?* do not consider that a good *moral purpose* may be effected, although no direct *moral precept* is inculcated. There are several other pieces of merit in this little work, but we have not room for further extracts; and we shall content ourselves with the observation, that we think it in general more successful in the display of mere invention, than in that of deep sentiment, or of comic humor.

The good or bad consequences, which we have stated, as resulting from that variety observable in the Club Room, are in no way applicable to the Idle Man, which as obviously is, for the most part, the work of one hand. The same coloring of sentiment is spread over ever part—the comic, the tender, or the indifferent; the scene may be changed, but the coloring is the same. In the portraits of character throughout the work, it is still the same; and the heroes of the more prominent pieces have but one personal identity, under the modification of different circumstances, and this identity they enjoy in common with the Idle Man, who of course takes upon himself all the unappropriated speculations in the book. It is, indeed, true, that one or two other outlines of character are attempted, in which we think the author's success is somewhat equivocal. The one above mentioned is that of a person

of natural sensibility, nurtured from infancy in the most perfect domestic seclusion, in the society of his books, his own thoughts, and of nature. In such company he would be likely to learn very little of what is called the world, and to be but indifferently accommodated to its necessities. We, accordingly, find him of a dreamy, enthusiastic temper, building castles of the brain, and, in the dearth of foreign nourishment, refining and feeding upon his own sensibilities. He becomes morbidly alive to such little troubles as most men would shake off in the eagerness of worldly occupation. But, on the other hand, he is exquisitely sensible to much that is imperceptible to worldly eyes in the retired beauties of nature. His heart expands under the influence of a wide benevolence that takes in every object in the creation;

> 'Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones, and good in every thing.'

Now this, although an amiable and a beautiful character, is more likely to excite deep interest in a few, than favor in the hearts of many; because the generality of men, either from constitution or habit, have too little in common with this cultivated sensibility, to feel corresponding emotions: And we think that the advantages which the work before us derives, from unity of character, are counteracted in some degree by the peculiar and unassimilating features of that character. We will now introduce the author to our readers, in a short extract from his own exordium, in which he is led into the following just reflections on the labors of periodical composition.

'I know that it is an arduous undertaking for one whose mind rarely feels the spring of bodily health bearing it up, whose frame is soon worn by mental labor, and who can seldom go to his task with that hopeful sense sustaining him, which a vigorous and clear spirit gives to the soul. To know that our hour for toil is come, and that we are weak and unprepared—to feel that depression or lassitude are weighing us down, when we must feign lightness and mirth—or to mock our secret griefs with show of others not akin, must be the fate of him who labors in such a work. This is not all. When our work is done, and well done, the excitement which employment had given us is gone—the spirits sink down, and there is a dreadful void in the mind. We feel as powerless as infancy, till pushed to the exertion of our strength again. Even great success has its terrors. We fear that we shall never do so well again; and know how churlishly the world receives from us that which will not bear comparison with what we have given them before.

Yet these sufferings have their rewards. To bear up against ill health by a sudden and strong effort, to shake off low spirits, and drive away the mist which lies thick and heavy upon the mind, gives a new state of being to the soul cheerful as the light. To sit at home in our easy chair, and send our gay thoughts abroad, as it were on wings, to thousands—to imagine them laughing over the odd fancies and drolleries which had made us vain and happy in secret, multiplies and spreads our sympathies quietly and happily through the world. In this way, too, we can pour out before the world thoughts which had never been laid open even to a friend; and make it feel our melancholy, and bear our griefs, while we still sit in the secret of our souls. The heart tells its story abroad, yet loses not its delicacy; it lays itself bare, but is still sensitive.'

The burthen of the complaint is as old as the Rambler, but we have no where seen its joys and its sorrows so beautifully contrasted.

The Son is one of the most pleasing articles, perhaps the most so, of any in the whole collection, and that we may do the work justice, we shall be as copious in our selection from it as our limits will permit. It exemplifies the peculiar character and vein of thought, which we have denoted as pervading the whole work.

'"The sun not set yet, Thomas?" "Not quite, sir. It blazes through the trees on the hill yonder as if their branches were all on fire."

'Arthur raised himself heavily forward, and with his hat still over his brow, turned his glazed and dim eyes towards the setting sun. It was only the night before that he had heard his mother was ill, and could survive but a day or two. He had lived nearly apart from society, and being a lad of a thoughtful, dreamy mind, had made a world to himself. His thoughts and feelings were so much in it, that except in relation to his own home, there were the same vague and strange notions in his brain concerning the state of things surrounding him, as we have of a foreign land.

'The main feeling which this self-made world excited in him was love, and like most of his age, he had formed to himself a being suited to his own fancies. This was the romance of life, and though men with minds like his make imagination to stand oftentimes in the place of real existence, and to take to itself as deep feeling and concern, yet in domestic relations, which are so near, and usual, and private, they feel longer and more deeply than those who look upon their homes as only a better part of the world which they belong to. Indeed, in affectionate and good men of a visionary cast, it is in some sort only realizing their hopes and de-

sires, to turn them homeward. Arthur felt that it was so, and he loved his household the more that they gave him an earnest of one day realizing all his hopes and attachments.

'Arthur's mother was peculiarly dear to him, in having a character so much like his own. For though the cares and attachments of life had long ago taken place of a fanciful existence in her, yet her natural turn of mind was strong enough to give to these something of the romance of her disposition. This had led to a more than usual openness and intimacy between Arthur and his mother, and now brought to his remembrance the hours they had sat together by the fire light, when he listened to her mild and melancholy voice, as she spoke of what she had undergone at the loss of her parents and husband. Her gentle rebuke of his faults, her affectionate look of approval when he had done well, her care that he should be a just man, and her motherly anxiety lest the world should go hard with him, all crowded into his mind, and he thought that every worldly attachment was hereafter to be a vain thing.

'He had passed the night between violent, tumultuous grief, and numb insensibility. Stepping into the carriage, with a slow, weak motion, like one who was quitting his sick chamber for the first time, he began his journey homeward. As he lifted his eyes upward, the few stars that were here and there over the sky, seemed to look down in pity, and shed a religious and healing light upon him. But they soon went out, one after another, and as the last faded from his imploring sight, it was as if every thing good and holy had forsaken him. The faint tint in the east soon became a ruddy glow, and the sun, shooting upward, burst over every living thing in full glory. The sight went to Arthur's sick heart, as if it were in mockery of his misery.

'Leaning back in his carriage, with his hand over his eyes, he was carried along, hardly sensible it was day. The old servant, Thomas, who was sitting by his side, went on talking in a low monotonous tone; but Arthur only heard something sounding in his ears, scarcely heeding that it was a human voice. He had a sense of wearisomeness from the motion of the carriage, but in all things else the day passed as a melancholy dream.

'Almost the first words Arthur spoke were those I have mentioned. As he looked out upon the setting sun, he shuddered through his whole frame, and then became sick and pale. He thought he knew the hill near him; and as they wound round it, some peculiar old trees appeared, and he was in a few minutes in the midst of the scenery near his home. The river before him reflecting the rich evening sky, looked as if poured out from a molten mine. The birds, gathering in, were shooting across each other, bursting into short, gay notes, or singing their evening

songs in the trees. It was a bitter thing to find all so bright and cheerful, and so near his own home too. His horses' hoofs struck upon the old wooden bridge. The sound went to his heart. It was here his mother took her last leave of him, and blessed him.

'As he passed through the village there was a feeling of strangeness, that every thing should be just as it was when he left it. There was an undefined thought floating in his mind, that his mother's state should produce a visible change in all that he had been familiar with. But the boys were at their noisy games in the street, the laborers returning, talking together, from their work, and the old men sitting quietly at their doors. He concealed himself as well as he could, and bade Thomas hasten on.'

These reflections are singularly beautiful. He finds his mother alive, but drawing near to her last hour, and after a night of anxiety, he returns the following morning to her bedside.

'After a little while, she spoke of his father, and said, she had lived with the belief that he was mindful of her, and with the conviction, which grew stronger as death approached, that she should meet him in another world. She said but little more, as she grew weaker and weaker every hour. Arthur sat by in silence holding her hand. He saw that she was sensible he was watching her countenance, for every now and then she opened her dull eye and looked towards him, and endeavored to smile.

'The day wore slowly away. The sun went down, and the melancholy and still twilight came on. Nothing was heard but the ticking of the watch, telling him with a resistless power, that the hour was drawing nigh. He gasped, as if under some invisible, gigantic grasp, which it was not for human strength to struggle against.

'It was now quite dark, and by the pale light of the night-lamp in the chimney corner, the furniture in the room threw huge and uncouth figures over the walls. All was unsubstantial and visionary, and the shadowy ministers of death appeared gathering round, waiting the duty of the hour appointed them. Arthur shuddered for a moment with superstitious awe; but the solemn elevation which a good man feels at the sight of the dying, took possession of him, and he became calm again.

'The approach of death has so much which is exalting, that our grief is, for the time, forgotten. And could one who had seen Arthur a few hours before, now have looked upon the grave and grand repose of his countenance, he would hardly have known him.

'The livid hue of death was fast spreading over his mother's face. He stooped forward to catch the sound of her breathing. It grew quick and faint.—"My mother."—She opened her eyes, for the last time upon him—a faint flush passed over her cheek—

there was the serenity of an angel in her look—her hand just pressed his. It was all over.

'His spirit had endured to its utmost. It sunk down from its unearthly height; and with his face upon his mother's pillow, he wept like a child.'

This is the eloquent language of genuine feeling, and the mysterious indefinite horrors conjured up by his clouded imagination are touched with a masterly hand.

In 'Musings,' he indulges a vein of sentiment which terminates in the following high contemplations.

'When such an one,' speaking of the man of a refined and feeling soul, 'when such an one turns away from men, and is left alone in silent communion with nature and his own thoughts, and there are no bonds on the movements of the feelings, and nothing on which he would shut his eyes, but God's own hand has made all before him as it is, he feels his spirit opening upon a new existence—becoming as broad as the sun and air—as various as the earth over which it spreads itself, and touched with that love which God has imaged in all he has formed. His senses take a quicker life—his whole frame becomes one refined and exquisite emotion, and the etherealized body is made as it were a spirit in bliss. His soul grows stronger and more active within him as he sees life intense and working throughout nature; and that which is passing away links itself with the eternal, when he finds new life beginning even with decay and hastening to put forth in some other form of beauty, and become a sharer in some new delight. His spirit is ever awake with happy sensations, and cheerful and innocent and easy thoughts. Soul and body are blending into one—the senses and thoughts mix in one delight—he sees a universe of order and beauty and joy and life, of which he becomes a part, and he finds himself carried along in the eternal going on of nature. Sudden and short-lived passions of men take no hold upon him, for he has sat in holy thought by the roar and hurry of the stream, which has rushed on from the beginning of things; and he is quiet in the tumult of the multitude, for he has watched the tracery of leaves playing safely over the foam.

'The innocent face of nature gives him an open and fair mind—pain and death seem passing away, for all about him is cheerful and in its spring. His virtues are not taught him as lessons, but are shed upon him, and enter into him like the light and warmth of the sun. Amidst all the variety of the earth, he sees a fitness which frees him from the formalities of rule, and lets him abroad to find a pleasure in all things, and order becomes a simple feeling of the soul.

'Religion to such an one has thoughts and visions and sensa-

tions, tinged as it were with a holier and brighter light than falls on other men. The love and reverence of the Creator make their abode in his imagination, and he gathers about them the earth and air and ideal worlds. His heart is made glad with the perfectness in the works of God, when he considers that even of the multitude of things that are growing up and decaying, and of those which have come and gone, on which the eye of man has never rested, each was as fair and complete as if made to live forever for our instruction and delight.

'Freedom and order and beauty and grandeur are in accordance in his mind, and give largeness and height to his thoughts—he moves amongst the bright clouds, he wanders away into the measureless depths of the stars, and is touched by the fire with which God has lighted them—all that is made partakes of the eternal, and religion becomes a perpetual pleasure.'

The preceding extracts, short and mutilated as they have necessarily been, give but an imperfect notion of the merits of the whole work, yet they sufficiently develop that delicate feature which predominates in the moral and in the intellectual character of the writer, and produces a beautiful harmony between both. His descriptions of scenery derive such attraction from this moral delicacy, that we regret he has not indulged more unreservedly in them. The work abounds in those speculations, or more properly reveries, which would naturally grow out of a frequent communion between a man of this temper and his own heart. And if we have sometimes thought him extravagant in building strong emotions upon trifling causes, and sometimes querulous in his disgust at the impertinence and vanities of the world, we must pardon these as the natural excesses of a sensibility which forms the peculiar beauty of his mind. Indeed, we become almost reconciled to a similar alienation from the heartless occupations of the world, when we enter the magic circle of serene and simple pleasures, which he has drawn around the threshold of domestic life. When he steps beyond these precincts, and ventures upon the brisk repartee and mixed wit of social or fashionable intercourse, the quaint and forced vivacity of his manner shows that he is not in his natural element.

We wish we could end with the enumeration of these amiable beauties; but we feel it our duty to point out a defect, which is the more dangerous from its association with these beauties. We mean an affectation of style, which disfigures some portions of the work much more than others; but which

is so widely spread, that we fear the principle itself must have taken deep root in the mind of the author, and have been nourished there with hopeless perversity of taste.

We have before remarked in this article, that the habit of abstract speculation has led some writers of the present day into an affectation of a mystical, vague, and unintelligible phraseology. This defect of style we must lay to the charge of the Idle Man; and we will illustrate our meaning by one or two examples.

In his remarks on Kean's manner of playing Othello, we have the following curious piece of criticism.

'In the passage beginning with

> O now forever
> Farewell the tranquil mind,

there was a mysterious confluence of sounds passing off into infinite distance, and every thought and feeling within him seemed travelling with them!'

Again, in a Letter from Town, we have this description of a person:

'His eyes had that look between suspended thought and inward contemplation, which makes the finest eye in the world. For the most part there was a rich haze over them, but when they turned their notice outward, they rayed out, like the sun bursting through a mist.'

Again, in Musings, we have the following observations upon the character of a man of fine imagination:

'All that the eye falls upon, and all that touches the heart, run off into airy distance, and the regions, into which the sight stretches, are alive and bright and beautiful, with countless shapings and fair hues of gladdened fancy.'

Again, on the same subject:

'The ordinary acts, which spring from the good will of social life, take up their dwelling within him, and mingle with his sentiment, forming a little society in his mind, going on in harmony with its generous enterprises, its friendly labors and tasteful pursuits. They undergo a change—becoming a portion of him, making a part of his secret joy and melancholy, and wandering at large among his far off thoughts!

Now the greater portion of these extracts not only give us no definite idea of the author's meaning, but hardly furnish

the most distant clue to it; and we think this language far more perplexing than that of the blind man, (mentioned by Locke,) who compared his idea of the color of scarlet to the sound of a trumpet. Lavater himself, we think, would have been nonplused in an attempt to explain a *look between suspended thought and inward contemplation*, or *an eye with a rich haze over it.* Then we have *thoughts and feelings travelling off with the sound of a man's voice into infinite distance!* So we are told that *whatever the eye falls upon runs off into airy distance;* and finally, (by a catachresis, none of the most gentle,) that the ordinary *actions of* social life form a *society in a man's mind*, and *wander at large among his far off thoughts!* We confess all this wanders far off from our comprehensions, and we trust our author will bring his thoughts in future a little closer to the standard of common language, for the benefit of ordinary readers. In our opinion, this mystical phraseology arises from a too free exercise of the imagination on such abstract subjects as require the closer scrutiny of reason. Sense is refined away into the most subtle sentiment; and the vague conceptions of the writer become unintelligible from the indefinite language, in which they are disguised. Dark and mysterious sentiment may be conveyed by a skilful selection of definite language, and in poetry (where this is more allowable,) it often heightens the sublimity; but indefinite sentiments, disguised in indefinite language, become absolute nonsense, and as such make no impression on the understanding of the reader.

The work is moreover well sprinkled with such unusual and antiquated terms and phrases, as could be recommended by nothing but the infrequency of their use among writers of the present day. There is, besides, a perpetual straining after simplicity, which circumstances, as they naturally beget a quaint and feeble diction, are a serious disparagement to the intrinsic beauty of the sentiment. We have expressions like these: 'A tree lays itself out upon the air.' 'We sit in the secret of our own souls.' 'Imagination grows forgetive.' 'Unbought grace uttering itself in every movement of the outward man.' 'Cannot make knee to,' for cannot kneel to. 'I cannot away with it,' for I cannot endure it. 'The eternal going on of nature,' for course of nature. 'Touch at the eye,' for touch the eye, &c. &c. which feeble amplifications, when frequent, destroy the vigorous compactness of our idiom, and convert particles, from

being the joints of a language, into mere supernumerary members of it. We are aware, that some of these and similar phrases are dug out of the obsolete vocabularies of some of our greatest writers. But they wrote before the full development of our language, and to revive them now is to revive not the graces, but the feebleness and inaccuracies of the days of Addison.

We know there are some, who admire these affectations, as the indication of original and refined taste; and we are for this reason the more strenuous in entering our protest against them. We do not wholly agree with Madame de Stael, when she says, 'il n'est point, en general, de symptome plus sûr de la sterilité des idées, que l'invention des mots;' but we do think that the invention, or what is much the same, the revival of obsolete expressions, or any other affected deviation from established phraseology in the present perfected state of the English tongue, is an indication of excessively bad taste, as it must draw off the attention of the reader from what is really valuable in the thought, to the eccentricity of the expression; and must authorize, by its example, every new adventurer to invade the standard of the national currency.

We should be much gratified, could we flatter ourselves that our remarks, (should they ever find their way to the author of the work before us,) would have any influence in correcting this perversity of his delicate genius. But we have no reason to expect it, both because the whole has the appearance rather of system, than of accidental deviation; and because in his very last number, after expressing his contempt for the opinions, either of reviewers, or of scholars, or of the public, upon literary productions, he frankly informs us, that the persons in his opinion most competent to form such opinions are those self-taught men, who live out of literary society!

But although from these circumstances we cannot hope to make an impression upon the author of the Idle Man, we trust our remarks will in some measure counteract any baneful influence, which its undeniable virtues may have given it over the tastes of our readers.*

We have said that the style of composition in our own country has in general been plain and unambitious. We intended to apply this remark, however, to scholars and to professed

* We cannot quit the Idle Man, without expressing our obligation to the Muse, who has enriched these pages with such eloquent pictures of American scenery, as must add new and valuable treasures to descriptive poetry.

writers. The general tone of our popular compositions has been showy and declamatory, a natural result of the influence of free and independent forms of government upon the buoyant spirits of a young, enterprising, and prosperous people. Under the continued patronage of these liberal institutions, (which must always operate powerfully on the genius of a language,) we trust that the English tongue will put forth its energies with new spirit and freedom. But as this is the natural tendency of our political system, we should early endeavour to regulate it; and it is particularly incumbent on every scholar in the present daily, we may say hourly expansion, of a more cultivated literature, to set an example of pure, perspicuous, classical composition, and not to mislead the unpractised judgment into extravagance or affectation.

It is more particularly the province of works, of the description we have been examining, to set this example. As specimens of fine writing, as works of taste, they come before the public; and it is in their power, if well conducted, to hold a salutary control over the taste of the public, especially over that of young and plastic intellects. In this way they may be eminently useful. We look upon them as the transitory beauties of cultivation, which may exercise a propitious influence on the public mind, when they themselves shall have passed away, and by the introduction of a finer taste, prepare it for the growth of a more elegant and a more enduring literature.

ART. XVIII.—*Circulars addressed to the American members and patrons of the American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres. By the Corresponding Secretary.*

THE second and third of three circulars of this kind are before us, and are more particularly within our view, in the few remarks we design to make. The newspapers of the day have informed the public of a project for an American Academy of language and belles lettres; and the circulars, which have been published, contain an account of what has been done towards its organization, but consist principally of the correspondence between the corresponding secretary and

various gentlemen of the highest respectability in our country, upon the general subject of the institution. We should fail in our duty to the public, did we omit to express our opinion of an institution coming forward with a name, and on a plan so imposing; and if our remarks should not command the approbation of the gentlemen who have been most active in the measures hitherto adopted, we hope at least we shall not be thought to exceed the limits of fair dissent.

The 'American Academy,' as appears from the second circular, was organized in June, 1821, by the choice of a President (the Secretary of State of the U. S.) three Vice Presidents, a corresponding and a recording secretary, a treasurer and eleven counsellors, one only of whom is an inhabitant of the state of New York. In addition to the names of the foregoing officers, a list of twenty eight members resident at New York is given, a second list of corresponding members from the several states of the union, and a third list of foreigners proposed as corresponding members. By whom proposed, or on what principle of selection, we have found ourselves, so far as concerns the last, much at a loss to conjecture.*

* We cannot but regard the following as an extraordinary explanation.

'The list of officers and members is furnished, as far as under present circumstances it can be made: but that of the members is to be considered only as an approximation to one strictly accurate. Our extensive territory, and the imperfect knowledge of the character of our scholars, as such, make it a work of time and much difficulty to obtain correct information, and to introduce the literary men of the United States to an acquaintance with each other. The proposal of such an institution was new, and many with the best wishes doubted its practicability Some, from motives of prudence, waited to see the completion of its arrangements and the list of its members, *previous to committing themselves.* The number of members who have in form been admitted and given their decided assent is between ninety and one hundred.'

We call this extraordinary, on comparing it with the following version of the *same* passage in a second edition of the *same* circular.

'The list of officers and members is furnished, as far as under present circumstances it can be made out: but that of the members is to be considered only as an approximation to one strictly accurate. Our extensive territory, and the imperfect knowledge of the character of our scholars, as such, make it a work of time and much difficulty to obtain correct information, and to introduce the literary men of the United States to an acquaintance with each other. The proposal of such an institution was new, and many with the best wishes doubted its practicability. Some, from motives of prudence, waited to see the completion of its arrangements and the list of its members, *previous to committing themselves. To some whose names are used it has not been convenient to communicate the requisite information. A few names are inserted of candidates, who, from what is at present known, will be admitted. It is difficult to draw a perfect separating line under present circumstances.* The number of members who have in form been admitted and given their decided assent, is between ninety and one hundred.'

The doings of the Academy, as far as we are able to judge from the circulars, have been confined to the proposal of a premium of not less than $400 and a gold medal for the best written history of the United States, to serve as a class-book for academies and schools; of a premium of $200 and a gold medal for a small volume of original reading lessons for common schools; of a gold medal to be presented on behalf of the society to Mr Charles Botta, of Italy, in acknowledgment of his history of the American Revolution; and of a premium of $400 and a gold medal for 'a popular treatise on natural philosophy or useful science.' It should be added, that in the last circular, it is stated that 'the more elaborate dissertations are reserved for the first regular volume of transactions, for which a few interesting papers are yet expected in time.' It is also stated in the second circular, that the Rev. J. M. Mason, D. D. late provost of Columbia College, is chairman of a committee to collect throughout the United States a list of alleged Americanisms.

With these premises, an extensive correspondence has been carried on, as it appears, of an *unofficial* kind, between the corresponding secretary and various members, selections from which are given in the third circular. The first remark which occurs to us on the subject of this academy, is, that it is eminently entitled to the name bestowed by Louis XVIII on one of his chambers of deputies, of the *undiscoverable*. We have bestowed some attention on the subject, with the design of rendering the institution whatever aid we could, if in no other way, at least, by making the public acquainted with the Academy's proceedings, through the medium of our pages. We have been unable, however, to obtain any idea of what the Academy is designed to be. By a literary and scientific academy, we understand an association of learned men, in some great city, who at their meetings communicate to each other the fruits of their studies, in the form of memoirs, which are afterwards generally published; and who associate with their body, under the name of corresponding or honorary members, distinguished intellectual characters in other places. This, however, does not appear to describe the new American academy, for, with the exception of a small list of resident members, the very great majority of officers and members are non-residents. This circumstance does not, it is true, create a total obstacle to assembling; a member may travel from

Baltimore, Philadelphia, or Boston to New York; though not very advantageously from New Orleans, Lexington, and Brunswick, at which several places, high functionaries of the Academy reside. Nor does it appear that any system of deputation is projected, by which nonresident members shall meet at stated periods in some capital. It seems then to us, that the first great requisite to a society, viz. *associating*, fails. The members are not to meet each other: and in consequence can render each other no service, in capacity of being fellow members, or in other words, the academy will do no good. If it be replied to this, that the active portion of the academy is intended to consist of the resident members at New York, and that the nonresident members are merely associated in the usual complimentary way, we rejoin first, that this does not appear to be the fact. The president, two of the three vice presidents, and all the eleven counsellors are nonresidents. If these offices mean any thing, the active portion of the society is not at New York; if they do not mean any thing, why have them? But on examining the contents of the circulars, we find a still further proof, that the academy is not intended to be a local academy, with nonresident associates. The subject of offering a premium for a text-book of natural philosophy and useful science having been stated, page 10th of the second circular, it is added, 'this preamble and resolution are proposed for consideration, and the opinions of members are requested concerning their modification or adoption.' Yet we perceive no possible way, in which opinions are to be collected throughout the union, but by a correspondence; and how any thing like literary *stimulus* and excitement can be expected to grow out of so cumbrous an organization, we cannot imagine. Again, on the same page of the second circular, we read,

'At the last meeting of the Society, the following was *proposed* for consideration,

Resolved, That a gold medal be presented, in behalf of this Society, to Signior Charles Botta, of Italy, author of the History of the American Revolution; and that the Hon. William Tilghman, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Langdon Cheves, Esq. President of the Bank of the United States, and Robert Walsh, jun. Esq. be requested to procure and transmit the same.

'The reason offered for this procedure is, that it is just, creditable and politic to take an honorable notice of the man, who in

a foreign country and a foreign language, has, by a work of much merit, contributed to make our character more known and respected.'

Here we have an important procedure *proposed* as just, creditable, and politic, and to be conducted by three most respectable gentlemen. To *whom* is it proposed to be adopted or rejected? We presume to the academy at large, who are to express their opinions, through the medium of correspondence. But we find in another copy of the *same* circular, a sort of second edition, though containing nearly the same matter, that 'the committee above named have approved the resolution and accepted the appointment.' Here we are somewhat embarrassed. In both copies of the circular, it is said the medal for Mr Botta is proposed for consideration, but in one of the copies, it is immediately added, that the committee have approved the resolution and accepted the appointment. The difficulty is a little increased, by the consideration that the committee are all nonresidents. Now we ask merely for information, on the comparison of these premises, who is competent to propose measures for consideration? Who to consider and adopt them? By whom was this medal considered and adopted, between the publication of the first and second editions of the second circular, and what is to be understood by a resolution which was but proposed for the academy's consideration, being approved by the committee only *nominated* in the resolution, and when thus approved, the committee then accepting the appointment to a trust created by the resolution, of which their own previous approbation is the only sanction we can find. We beg not to be understood to express an objection to the measure in question: it is a matter of entire indifference. We wish merely to authorize our remark, that the academy has no organization, or that it is impossible to discover what it is.

To a literary society, on a reasonable and practical plan, we should certainly be very friendly. Did the men of science and letters of New-York see fit to associate themselves into an institution of this kind, (though we think that it would be far better to employ their efforts, under the auspices of the respectable institutions, which already exist in that city,) did they give the world, in the form of published memoirs, or in the proposal of premiums, or any other mode of academical operation, the proof of their earnestness and zeal, we are quite

sure that they would carry with them the good wishes of all friends of American literature, and of none more sincerely than ourselves. How much could be effected would depend altogether on the qualification and zeal of the members, and on what was effected would depend the estimation, in which the compliment of honorary membership would be held in other parts of this country and in Europe. But we feel little doubt that this is all that can reasonably be attempted, and we regard the entire failure of the American academy, after three years' experiment, even to propose an organized *modus operandi*, as satisfactory demonstration of the impossibility of the thing. It will be said, perhaps, that the most respectable gentlemen in the country have given it their sanction, and we shall be pointed to the extracts and selections from their letters in the circular of the corresponding secretary. But to what have they given their sanction? We say there is nothing to sanction. There is no academy; there is no where an organized literary body, with a distinct mode of operation, which body so operating these gentleman have sanctioned. It is a matter of course, that if a gentleman receives a polite letter, telling him that he is chosen a member of the 'American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres, of which the secretary of state is president, and the judges of the supreme court are vice-presidents,' that he will write as polite an answer, saying he accepts the honor. We cannot but observe, however, the discretion with which some of these acceptances are expressed. Mr Mason of Portsmouth judiciously observes, 'that it is obvious that the usefulness of such an association must depend wholly on the talents, literary acquirements, and consequent public influence of the individuals who compose it. Without knowing who the individuals are, that are expected or intended to contribute to the association, I can form no definite opinion of the probability of its final success and usefulness.' We would add, that it is not merely the talents and literary acquirements of the nominal members of the academy, that will determine its respectability, but the degree, to which the organization of the academy will call their talents and acquirements into activity. The printed list of members comprises no small proportion of the respectability of our country. Great value would be attached to the opinion of almost any individual upon it, upon any subject, on which it should be expressed. And yet who knows of any influence of the American

Academy of Language and Belles Lettres over public opinion. We venture to say not half our readers ever heard of it. The letter of Mr Jay is also characterized by a discretion almost of that species, which in lighter matters is called sliness. 'I perceive that the prudence of proceeding circumspectly has not escaped their attention, *and care will doubtless be taken, that the publications, made by their direction and desire, be such as shall comport with the style and design of the academy.*' The letters, from which the foregoing extracts are made, and all the others, express abundant good wishes for the success of the institution. In these, however, it is in vain to pretend that their respectable writers bestow any specific sanction on any existing organization; for, as we have repeated, no such organization exists.

It might seem invidious to engage in the criticism of the materials which make up the circulars. The letters of most of the gentlemen, we presume not to have been intended for publication; those of the corresponding secretary, which make up the greater portion of the pamphlets, appear to have been designed for that purpose. They are a series of essays on the community of language with England, on popular education, on national sentiment, and various other topics; and they appear to be written by the *motu proprio* of the secretary, without any specific injunction of the society. Some of them are quite long, and appear to have been composed in an uncommonly zealous construction of the duties of a *corresponding* secretary. They contain many just remarks, but we must confess we do not regard them as very well written, nor calculated to impress the literary public in general, particularly abroad, with a very high idea of the institution. They are by no means free from grammatical errors, and are vague and wordy. When the world, moreover, shall hear this institution ask, 'If the little territory of *Achaia*, with scarcely any other advantage than merely being free, could so exalt the Athenian name, what ought the world to demand from this wide-spread country, with all its resources?' it will be apt to conclude, that although an academy of language and belles lettres, it is not one of history or geography.

We hope that no invidious construction will be put on any of our remarks or their general design. To every rational effort to promote the literary improvement of our country, none would contribute more heartily than we. Were the operations

of this society what they are repeatedly stated to be in the circulars, practical, prudent, unostentatious, we should not have a word to say. But a colossal organization of officers is displayed, a fund is collected, and vast ultimate objects of a national and philosophical kind talked of in high terms, without a single practical hint, that we can fix on, or so much as the project of the plan, by which these objects are to be attained. There is in fact nothing wanting to this academical institution, but the single fact of being an academy, and until something is done to make it one, we shall rest in the unpleasant conclusion that Mrs Glass, author of that renowned precept, 'first catch a turbot,' has lived and written in vain. In the circulars hitherto issued, there is no suggestion or hint toward any thing like a meeting of the academy, nothing like a call on the president, vice-presidents and counsellors to assume their function, nothing like an indication to the corresponding members of the nature of the tribunal, which is to receive, act upon, reject or print their communications. In lieu of all this, we are told that the academy wishes to collect opinions, proceed slowly, and modify its progress by experience. But is it to be determined by experience, whether the academy shall meet or not meet; whether its officers shall act or not act; whether its members shall contribute or not contribute to the volumes of its transactions? If all these things are to be ascertained by experience, then there is one other point also to be ascertained by experience, viz. whether the academy exists or does not exist; and we cannot but think the experience of the three years last past strongly in favor of the latter. In fact, the academy thus far resolves itself into a fund raised by contribution, from different parts of the United States, for printing a desultory, complimentary, formal correspondence. It is unnecessary to say, that the names of many of the gentlemen, whose letters are published, secure the public interest for whatever they are subscribed to; but their letters form a small portion only of the pamphlets, and what the American Academy of Language and Belles Lettres has to do with the replies, which the corresponding secretary has been pleased, at great length, to make to some of them, we should be glad to know. Some of these letters are elaborate essays of eight finely printed octavo pages, which it requires much leisure or a strong sense of duty to write or read; and by what warrant they are written, does not appear. Our little experience in learned societies has not

prepared us for this mode of performing the duty of a corresponding secretary. We understand that officer to be charged with writing official letters on behalf and by order of their academy; and the goodness of an official letter is commonly in inverse ratio to its length. We would not dwell unkindly on this, but that we are threatened with the continuance of the system. The third circular begins thus:—'The following pamphlet, *though a very imperfect work*, will be in some degree a guide to the general views of the Academy of Language and Belles Lettres. It is not calculated for publication; but to serve as a temporary basis, for *farther* expected communications, *preparatory* to a more full and formal production.' Why a pamphlet, ostensibly consisting of official letters between members of an academy and the secretary, should be *a very imperfect work*, we do not comprehend. We can think of nothing human so easily made perfect, in its kind. But we suppose this qualification was dictated by the corresponding secretary's modesty, who felt that it was in name only an official correspondence, and in reality a series of essays of his own production. Were it not this, he could have no warrant so far to let diffidence of his own merit prevail over respect for his distinguished correspondents, as to call the pamphlet, consisting of their joint productions, 'a very imperfect work.' It is then a production, and we take upon us to add, an unofficial production of the secretary. How then can it serve as 'a guide to the general views of the academy?' Does the secretary mean to say, with Louis XIV, *l'academie, c'est moi?* If so, the corresponding members and the public may wish to see in what terms, and for what imaginable end, the secretary was authorized, by the academy, to run into these weary dissertations. But all this is only 'a temporary basis for further expected communications.' This circular is to be sent round, other letters invited, or selected from those received, more long answers, we presume, to be written, and the pamphlet now terminating at page 40, *in the middle* of the letter of a gentleman, who is doubtless highly gratified with this new method of abridgment, will be continued to page 80. And when these 'farther expected communications' are received, what purpose is the whole to serve? It is to be 'preparatory to a more full and formal production.' By whom, and for whom, and about what, is this more full and formal production to be written? Some eighty pages like ours have already been printed. This

is declared to be a temporary basis to farther expected communications, which, according to the usual proportions of a superstructure to its base, must be twice or thrice as bulky, and all is preparatory to a more full and formal production;—on what subject and for what end is not hinted. If (what we have no particular reason to suspect, but as is commonly the case) there is no secret history to these doings, which we, at a distance being uninitiated, cannot get at, we are constrained to pronounce the whole enterprize one of the most signal displays of unprofitable fuss-making, we have ever witnessed. The circular immediately goes on to say,—'To some it may perhaps appear that a more public and imposing display is unnecessarily delayed (!)—but from every consideration of lasting usefulness, it appeared more important that no wrong step should be taken, than that any specific amount of measureable labor should be performed in a given time. Those, to whom it has fallen to perform the humble task of pioneers, could not be less anxious than others, to witness the favorable result of their exertions; but they would betray a great want of judgment in neglecting substantial objects, and seeking their gratification in a premature and vain parade.' Now what but parade, we are free to ask, has the society brought forth? It is not a defence to say, that the objects, about which the corresponding secretary has written, are substantial; that a national dictionary, a standard of language, a system of intercourse to transmit books from New-Orleans to Brunswick, London, and St Petersburg, that mental philosophy,* that national instruction, and we know not what else; that these are solid, substantial objects. Wha will, what can the academy do, what has it begun to do, what has it undertaken to do, for any of them? Nothing. It has only said, they would be fine things, if well done. This we apprehend was known before, and to nominate a vast faculty of officers, and publish an array of correspondence all over the union, for the purpose of asserting the importance of these objects, is empty parade. When the academy shall, by any link of practical operations, bind itself to these substantial objects, its own character will be substantial; till then, the objects will remain substantial, the academy mere talk,

Par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

* 'The attention of the society will be particularly called to the subject of mental philosophy.' p. 33. This will constitute in foreign eyes rather a queer item in the pursuits of an Academy of Language and Belles Lettres.

ART. XIX.—*Eighteen Hundred and Twenty, a Poem. Part First.* London, 1821.

THE design of this production will be best learned from a few sentences of the preface, which we the rather extract, as they contain an allusion, kept up indeed through many parts of the poem, to our own country.

'The title of this poem is intended to connect it with the political events of the year eighteen hundred and twenty. It has not been my object, however, to take them up in chronological order, or present them in an historical shape, but merely to allude to them in any way that appeared most suitable for relieving the monotony of a poem, essentially didactic. I shall also employ, for the same purpose, in the course of the work, should it be continued, the events of subsequent and preceding years; so that the name I have affixed to the poem is not an accurate description of the subject, but a mere title.

'The prevailing error of the last generation, in theory and practice, was an abuse of the name and principles of liberty. The fault, or at least, one of the faults of the present, is of a contrary description, and consists in misrepresenting in theory and abusing in practice, the wholesome doctrine, that it is the duty of the people to preserve good order and submit to lawful authority. From this indisputable truth, a certain class of writers have deduced the conclusion, that it is necessary to submit to any established authority, however unlawful and unjust, or in other words, have revived the old-fashioned doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. They have gone, however, a step beyond the ancient partisans of divine right: and, while they deny to nations the liberty of reforming their governments, they grant to kings, not only an unlimited authority over their own subjects, but a right to reform the governments of foreign powers at pleasure. This system, however absurd, may be regarded as the one now prevailing on the continent. * * * * * * *

'It is true that these slavish principles have comparatively few partisans in England and the United States, where this poem will circulate, if at all: but I have thought that even in these countries an attempt to expose their absurdity might not be wholly useless, for the promotion of truth.

'In the execution of the following attempt I have not overlooked the principle that poetry addresses itself to the imagination rather than the judgment, and have endeavored to enliven the dulness of discussion, as far as was compatible with the nature of the subject and the mediocrity of talent at my disposal. Without

pretending to vie with the living masters of the lyre, in brilliancy and romantic interest, I shall be satisfied, if the lovers of verse shall consider an inferiority of this sort as, in some degree, compensated by just views and generous feelings. Nothing, however, can expiate in poetry the sin of absolute dulness; and if the public award pronounces that I have been guilty of it, I shall certainly refrain from repeating the offence. If this attempt is received with approbation, I shall probably continue the poem to a third or fourth part.'

The foregoing extracts from the preface will sufficiently convey to our readers an idea of the spirit and principles of this poem. These it is no part of our design to discuss. The great unanimity, with which these principles in substance are embraced in our own country, would render such discussion here superfluous; and our remoteness from Europe, where they constitute the great *shibboleth* of the powerful parties there in array, destroys the temptation we might otherwise feel, to engage in the subject. The same cause will perhaps lead some American readers to think, that the anonymous author of Eighteen Hundred and Twenty, whom we have some suspicions to be an American, has entered into the controversy with disproportioned warmth. This is an opinion, which we are apt in this country to form with regard to the champions in the political contests of Europe; and it is happy for us, that the great warfare there waged is a matter of no more pressing interest to America. But we ought not to do injustice to either of the parties in that warfare. The conflict is one of tremendous moment. The antiquity of the prescriptions and the power and patronage of the privileged classes, that exist in virtue of them, on the one hand, with the numerical and physical strength, the commercial resources, the activity and intelligence of the mass of the people, on the other, are elements too mighty not to kindle a fearful strife. The short experience of our own country has been sufficient to teach us, that political discussions may be wrought to wonderful bitterness, even by good men. But our domestic politics, entirely controlled as they are at every moment, by the numerical majority, consisting as they chiefly do of questions of deputing offices, which on the return of short periods are resumed by the people, ought never to excite that fierceness of feeling, which grows out of the momentous struggle at which we have hinted. We know not whether this apology will be thought necessary

for any of the opinions of this work: but if in any portion, or in its general spirit, it may go beyond the feeling of the American community on the subjects treated, we would suggest the foregoing explanation. The poem begins with an animated apostrophe to Spain. The following passage will serve as a specimen of this portion of the work; at the same time that it discloses interesting facts relative to that unfortunate country.

'Tis glorious all—but what avail
The gifts of God when man their use denies?
What serves the port, when scarce a sail
For Spanish profit bears its merchandise?
The stream, that only pours to waste
Its wealth of waves upon uncultured banks?
The generous grape that none may taste,
Whose toilsome care has trimmed its cluster'd ranks?
The famous towns, where Ruin builds his throne,
On broken shafts, and crumbling architraves;
The perfumed airs, that sigh for glory gone,
Or that unclouded sun that beams for none but slaves.

Slaves—but beneath that galling chain
The soul of freedom still abides in you;
Slaves—but in Europe's hour of shame and pain,
Ye did what freer nations could not do:
When o'er your land the invader's forces poured,
And garrisoned each town and castled height,
And your base masters owned him for their lord;
'Twas then the Spanish people in their might
Rose up unanimous—Forth legions sprang
As at a signal call, and armor rang,
And trumpets sounded—standards flamed in air,
And Hope exulting waved her golden hair,

Where terror reigned so late—and on they move,
And back dismayed the astonished tyrant drove;
Shook to its base that blood-cemented throne,
And placed their rightful monarch on his own,
While peace returned to Europe. What reward?
What wealth, what titles grants their grateful lord,
To pay such service? Doubtless high in courts,
Doubtless in palaces, the proud resorts
Of self-styled nobles—doubtless at the head
Of the brave troops they late to victory led
And glory—doubtless on the cushioned seats
Of ermined justice—or in soft retreats.

'Of pensioned ease the royal gratitude
Placed your deliverers.—This was all he could;
And less were mockery. Idle boast!
Ask the south winds that sweep the embattled coast
Of Africa, and bear from Ceuta's towers
The prisoner's moan that counts the lingering hours,
And longs for death to ease him—They shall tell
Another story. Seek the deepest cell
In Spain's most loathsome dungeon, ye shall find,
Lodged in such state as that, the godlike mind,
The heart that poured like water out its flood
In the king's service. Mark the felon brood,

'That chained in gallies tug the laboring oar,
Till the blood starts from every bursting pore;
There toils the patriot. Such the glorious meed,
That pays his high intent, his matchless deed.
Aye—and I tell you when a ruffian's hand
Plies the red scourge upon that outcast band,
His villain fury tears the bleeding form
Of Arguelles.* These are things, that warm
The blood of meek-eyed patience; these are things
Which in its blackest record history brings
Nothing to be a match for—These are times
In which endurance is the worst of crimes.'

The passage which follows this, and which is intended to expose what may be called the *emigrant policy* lately pursued in Europe, is one of the most powerful in the poem, and one of those perhaps, for which the explanation made above will be most needed here. Our sympathies in this country are pretty generally, we think, on the side of the emigrants; whereas, in Europe, experience has so universally found them so strongly on the side adverse to improvement, that their fortunes awaken less commiseration in the liberal party, than could be wished and indeed expected from those whose cause is in its essence the cause of humanity. The following pas-

* 'Arguelles was the most distinguished orator among the members of the Spanish cortes at their first organization; and, as is well known, was honored by the enthusiastic admiration of his colleagues, with the appellation of *the divine*. Upon the king's restoration he was brought to trial for his share in the preceding events; but by the dexterity with which he managed his defence, he disconcerted his judges so much, that they found it extremely difficult to pronounce him guilty with any regard to appearances. The king, being informed that there was some delay and embarrassment in the case, sent for the papers and wrote upon them with his own hand—*Ten years labor in the gallies at Ceuta.*

sage at the close of this strain, will interest our readers for the national allusion:

> But why such fears? And tell me, if thou wilt,
> Why youthful freedom still must wed with guilt?
> To Europe's history why each thought confine?
> Mark where afar in blameless lustre shine
> Columbia's stars along the Hesperian sky,
> And guide the march of struggling liberty.
> By her forewarned, Iberia, learn the skill
> To mix with prudent care your generous zeal;
> Like her to well-tried worth your cause entrust,
> And willing to be free, forget not to be just.
> So shall your realm erect in vigorous health,
> Revive once more to glory, joy, and wealth;
> Once more brown Labour's train prevent the morn,
> To trim the vine, or tend the golden corn;
> And o'er her looms reviving Art delight,
> With song and smile to charm the weary night;
> While at their call the freighted ships appear,
> And rich abundance crowns the industrious year.
> So shall your sons, a numerous, generous race,
> In times remote their fathers' deeds retrace,
> With honest pride these high exploits review,
> By zeal inspired, but still to justice true;
> And bless unanimous that patriot train,
> In ceaseless hymns that sound thro' grateful Spain.
> Eternal flowers shall blossom where they sleep,
> Fresh with the dews that worth and freedom weep;
> While deeply graved in history's brightest line,
> Their names with Washington's for ever shine.'

To this succeeds the part of the poem, where the political system on which it is written, is more distinctly developed, and in which the grave and philosophical strain of most of the previous portion is exchanged for a vein of temperate pleasantry. The immediate suggestion of this part of the poem was found in the speech of the emperor of Austria, to the deputies of the Hungarian aristocracy, at their meeting at Pest, in 1820. In this speech the emperor says to the Hungarians, *totus mundus* STULTISAT, et relictis antiquis legibus imaginarias constitutiones quærit. Vos habetis constitutionem, &c. Our author's note upon this passage is as follows:—

'A most gracious speech truly: and if the whole world do not immediately change their opinions and come round to his Majes-

ty's, the whole world will certainly exhibit a high degree of ingratitude, for the very civil and endearing manner in which His Majesty has condescended to point out their errors. *Delirat* would have been rather more classical, and a little less insulting than *stultisat;* but it is natural enough perhaps to express barbarous ideas in monkish Latin: and then the word *delirat* might have brought to mind a highly anti-monarchical passage in a classical poet of great authority.—*Quicquid delirant reges, &c.* If the whole world are of one opinion, and the emperor of Austria of another, supposing him even to be backed by the deputies of the Hungarian aristocracy, is there not reason to fear that His Majesty may ultimately be left in a minority? Some late accounts, however, seem to shew that the Huns are not quite so well satisfied with their political situation as the emperor seems to suppose. By the law of England an individual is not permitted to *stultify* himself. Might it not be made a question whether by the law of nations an emperor is at liberty to *stultify* the whole world? and whether a man, who pretends to stultify the whole world, is not in reality making a fool of himself?'

Having indicated this topic in the foregoing note, our author's allusions in the following passage will be intelligible.

'Vain questions all; your idle doubts renounce,
The German Cæsar solves the point at once.
Mark where, in lofty state, he mounts alone
The imperial, royal, apostolic throne;
While Pest assembled its due homage pays,
And Metternich and Gentz unite their praise.
There bold in truth he tells the tidings sad,
That *all mankind, except the Huns, are mad.*
The Huns—the enlightened Huns, alone remain,
One bright example to the insensate train,
In full possession of their reasoning powers,
Through every age from Attila's to ours.
Come then, ye studious souls from every shore,
Who thirst and hunger for politic lore:
Ye that expend so long with fruitless toil
O'er Locke and Montesquieu the midnight oil;
Ye that with fond devotion love to trace
The written wisdom of an earlier race,
And hang enraptured o'er their living works,
Pitts—Foxes—Ameses—Mirabeaus—or Burkes.
And ye that hear with reverence and delight
Where equal genius now supports the right,
Where Mackintosh to generous ardour wrought,
From lips of honey pours his wealth of thought;

Constant with copious accents keen and free,
Foils the vain arts of powerful sophistry;
And youthful zeal in warmth surviving yet,
Inspires thy voice, Oh veteran La Fayette;
Or where Toreno with his bold compeers,
Pleads the just cause to all unpractised ears;
Or fair Hesperia in her prosperous youth,
Bears to the world full witness of its truth;
Come turn away from all these thoughts and scenes,
For now a new and happier time begins.
Past is the glory of all former names,
Once prized at Washington, St Cloud, St James,
And France and England must their weakness own,
And yield the palm of science to the Hun.
Then come, ye studious souls, set forth in haste,
Quit the dull seats of all your labours past;
And fly where perfect wisdom stands confest,
In living lessons daily taught at Pest.'

The remainder of the poem consists of an address in the person of Mr Gentz, the well known advocate and official organ of the doctrines, which it contains. Having named the press, as the great instrument of modern corruption, this address thus proceeds:

'Straight from this source supplied in copious stores,
The flood of heresy and knowledge pours
Through the wide world, and swells, and rushes on,
Threatening dstruction to each lawful throne.
Knowledge—the apple with our ruin fraught,
Is now the cheapest fruit that can be bought;
And journals, loaded with their poisonous ware,
Like leaves in autumn, flutter through the air.
Each starveling printer holds his court supreme,
And bids the sovereigns come and answer him;
And sovereigns must—Oh foulest shame of all!
Yes, monarchs must, and do, obey the call.
And yet their ministers regardless stand,
While schools, like mushrooms, spring thro' all the land,
Rising, in town and village, by the score,
Till learning knocks at every peasant's door.
And last, all hope of better things to efface,
And poison in its germ the rising race,
By the new scheme each youth instructs his brother,
And pupils act as masters to each other.
Then say what remedy the case can reach,
When infants are not only taught, but teach?

And is it not, when such disorders rule,
High time that parents put themselves to school?
What though de Bonald* deem the system naught,
Because it teaches better than it ought?
Think ye the less the youthful armies swell
And crowd the courts of Lancaster and Bell?
In vain La Mennais† proves by reasoning sooth,
That reason never proved a single truth:
The stupid world just takes him at his word,
And owns *his* truths, at least to be absurd.
Lastly: and this your majesties may call
Perhaps the most surprising point of all—
Nature herself appears to impart her force,
And plastic power to aid the infectious course.
For as the lower ranks by art and stealth
Gain ground so fast in knowledge and in wealth,
Their very numbers all account excell;
Their very corporal stature seems to swell.
While to our grief each glorious sovereign line,
The hope of nations, sinks in sad decline,
And scarce from age to age, with pain and care,
Succeeds, perhaps, in eking out an heir;
The rascal vulgar prove, untouched by shame,
Their limbs of iron, and their nerves of flame;
And hosts of children, swarming more and more,
Shew their white heads at every cottage door:
As erst the Jews, though crushed by Pharaoh's hand,
Waxed fast and mighty in the Egyptian land.

* The Viscount de Bonald is a voluminous French writer, who has acquired a good deal of authority with the aristocratic party on the continent by the determined pertinacity, with which he maintains the most absurd of their pretensions.

† 'The Abbé de la Mennais is a much better writer, though, if possible, a still more absurd reasoner, than the viscount de Bonald. In his work on *Indifference to Religion*, he establishes the infallibility of the pope by the following argument. There is no certainty in any of the information which we receive by means of the senses, of consciousness, or of reasoning; therefore, in order to be certain of any thing, we must have it on better authority than either of these; therefore the pope is infallible. The protestants are also of opinion, that in order to believe in the pope, it is necessary to dispute the evidence of sense and reason; but instead of denying with M. de la Mennais, the credibility of their eyes and ears, they preferred denying that of his holiness. It is a curious thing to see this learned and able advocate of the most superstitious form of the Christian religion resting his defence of its truth upon the basis of universal Pyrrhonism. His argument has not a shadow of plausibility, and is indeed only an empty parade of words without meaning: but if his premises were true, they would lead to a conclusion directly contrary to the point he is endeavoring to prove.'

In vain sage Malthus, provident too late,
Predicts the event, and tells the doom of fate;
With eye unerring marks that hour of ill,
When tribes increasing the vast world shall fill;
Exhaust at once the unequal stock of food,
Fish, flesh, and fowl—from forest, air, and flood,
And last on each green thing despairing prey,
Till plague and famine sweep them all away.
In vain in soft persuasion dips his pen,
To touch the unwary souls of thoughtless men;
Calls beauty's bloom a false seducing show,
And love—sweet love—the source of all our woe;
Cassandra-like, he meets with small applause;
All turn where metal more attractive draws;
The enamored stripplings still delight to sip
The dews of love from beauty's rosy lip;
The blushing fair still views, with secret joy,
The manly charms that grace her ardent boy;
And as at heart the genial glow they feel,
Each quite forgets his great great grandchild's weal;
And leaving him and Malthus in the lurch,
Hies to his bride and trips away to church.'

Our limits do not permit us to continue our extracts from this address, which terminates with the poem. We know not how extensive a popularity the poem can promise itself in this country, when, at this moment, our local politics are too interesting to leave a production, founded on European politics, much chance of wide circulation. Of the general merit of the poetry our readers can judge for themselves. It is quite above the ordinary level of similar compositions, and may be compared in some portions, not disadvantageously, with Mrs Barbauld's fine production of Eighteen Hundred and Eleven. It is plain to see, that a little more care bestowed on the versification would have removed that excess of *pedestrian* ease, which we think it manifests. Should the author be induced to continue his performance. we trust he will give this hint a thought. It applies, however, only to the latter part of the poem.

ART. XX.—*A Manual of Chemistry. By William Thomas Brande, Secretary of the Royal Society of London. The first American from the second London edition. Three volumes in one. To which are added, Notes and Emendations. By William James Macneven, M. D. Professor of Chemistry in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the University of the State of New-York.* New-York, 1821. pp. 638.

THE establishment of the laboratory of the royal institution of Great Britain will ever be considered as a memorable epoch, in the history and progress of chemical science. While the bounds of knowledge were rapidly extended by the powerful genius of the illustrious individual, who first occupied the chemical chair, the lecture rooms were crowded, and a taste for scientific research was excited, resulting in benefits the most important, not only to the immediate attendants on the lectures, but to the nation and to the world at large. To the investigations conducted under the patronage and within the walls of the royal institution, not only is the chemist indebted for the confirmation of many facts, for the development of new and powerful agents, and for many of the brilliant discoveries with which the science has been enriched; but incalculable benefit has been conferred upon the artist and manufacturer; while the natural philosopher, the botanist, and the mineralogist have seen a taste for their favorite studies assiduously cultivated and widely diffused. In the apartments of the royal institution, observes professor Brande, 'the intercourse which has been facilitated between patrons of science, scientific men, and the promoters of manufactures and arts, has tended to inspire that activity and energy which spring most luxuriantly from the free interchange of opinion.'—'Diffusing on one hand the elements of science to crowds of the fashionable world, who were delighted at the new source of instructive amusement thus opened to them, and on the other maintaining an honorable and emulous contest with the profoundest philosophers of the age in the paths of discovery and experiment, the royal institution rose to a height of distinction which has been rarely attained.'

Our readers are probably aware that the royal institution is not merely a school of chemistry, but that the great object for

which it was established is the advancement of every branch of science; and that within its walls gentlemen of the first talents lecture on practical mechanics, architecture, antiquities, drawing and painting, on botany and the other departments of natural history. The lectures are illustrated by an ample chemical and philosophical apparatus, and the library, the mineralogical cabinet, and the collection of models are of great value and extent.

The work, the title of which is prefixed to this article, professes to be an abstract of the lectures of professor Brande; who, on the resignation of Sir Humphry Davy, was chosen to succeed to the chemical chair in the institution. We have taken this opportunity of alluding to it, in consequence of the new prospects which private munificence has opened upon an establishment in this town, of which we have every reason to be proud, and with which we trust every aid and incentive to the promotion and diffusion of literature and science will before long be connected.

The work of professor Brande has been favorably received in Europe, and most of our readers must be fully satisfied of its merits, from the notice which has been taken of it in so many of the European journals. We congratulate our scientific friends on the republication of the work in this country, and cheerfully recommend it to chemical students, who will find in it a clear and satisfactory view of the present state of the science of which it treats. It will moreover be found to contain many details in regard to the manipulations of chemistry, which they will in vain seek in more voluminous and elaborate treatises. It is admirably well calculated for those who are commencing the study of chemistry, and that portion of it which relates to analysis, will be found particularly useful to all, who undertake operations of this kind. Those who are desirous of pursuing any subject more in detail than has been done by Mr Brande, will find numerous references, at almost every page, to the best and latest authorities.

While we express our approbation of this work, we feel under the necessity of saying, that the American editor has rather imperfectly performed the office he undertook of adding 'notes and emendations.' The whole amount of his labors, as far as we can discover, consists in the adaptation of the representative numbers for the elementary and compound atoms, to the determinations of Prout and Thomson, the omission of one

hundred and eighty-eight pages of preface, and the abridgment of one hundred and two pages of index to two! The fact that the principal part of the preface to the English edition is but an enlarged, though in several particulars an improved version of the author's earlier dissertation on the progress of chemical science, already published in this country, appears to us an inadequate apology for its omission. In regard to the abridgment of the index, we feel still more disposed to complain, having in vain sought for some of the most important topics of discussion in the meagre table of two pages retained. A well digested index to a work of this kind is not only convenient, but we had almost said, an essential part of the treatise itself.

In that portion of the preface which Dr Macneven has seen fit to retain, we are told by professor Brande that the arrangement of the materials of his volumes is that, which 'some years' experience of its advantages in teaching the principles of the science,' has induced him to adopt. 'In the present state of our knowledge,' he continues, 'it will be found most convenient to begin with the discussions relating to the general powers or properties of matter, and afterwards to proceed to the examination of individual substances, and to the phenomena which they offer when presented to each other under circumstances favorable to the exertion of their mutual chemical agencies.' The leading facts connected with the general laws of chemical changes are then detailed in a clear and satisfactory manner, under the heads of 'homogeneous attraction, heterogeneous attraction or affinity, heat, and electricity.'

In the following chapter 'the properties of radiant matter, and its influence upon the composition of bodies,' are considered. The effects of radiant matter, in producing the phenomena of vision, are not, however, dwelt upon at sufficient length, and the student, we fear, will obtain from this part of professor Brande's work but a very superficial knowledge of the equally curious and beautiful phenomena, connected with the polarisation of light. We should have been pleased to have seen a more complete analysis of the labors of Dr Brewster on this subject, especially as for a few years past it has excited so much attention among the philosophers of Europe. We may indeed say, that chemists and mineralogists are just beginning to avail themselves of its powerful aid in the prosecution of their respective sciences. The labors of Malus, Brewster,

Arago, Biot, and a few others, have reduced the apparently intricate and variable phenomena of double refraction and polarisation 'under the dominion of general laws,' and have enabled us to calculate them, in the language of Dr Brewster, 'with as much accuracy as that, with which the astronomer can compute the motions and positions of the heavenly bodies.' It must be gratifying to mineralogists to learn that the results of the investigations of Dr Brewster are about to be applied to the classification of minerals, and that that gentleman is preparing a work, founded chiefly on the physical relations of minerals, and on the characters derived from optical phenomena, and the action of crystals on *polarised light*.

The third and fourth chapters are devoted to 'the sources and properties of the simple supporters of combustion, and of the elementary acidifiable substances, and their mutual combinations.' In the section on carbon, the magnificent diamond mentioned by Tavernier is noticed as probably the largest known. It is of the size of a hen's egg, and weighs $279\frac{9}{10}$ carats;—before cutting, it weighed 900 carats. This, however, is far exceeded by a diamond not noticed by Mr Brande, of which the following account, from the third edition of professor Jameson's mineralogy, may not be uninteresting. This diamond 'is said to be in the possession of the rajah of Mattan, in Borneo, in which island it was found about eighty years ago. It is egg-shaped, with an indented hollow near the smaller end. It is said to be of the finest water. It weighs 367 carats. Now, as 156 carats are equal to one ounce Troy, it is obvious that this diamond weighs two ounces 169.87 grs. Troy. Many years ago the governor of Borneo attempted to purchase this diamond. He sent a Mr Stewart to the rajah, who offered 150,000 dollars, two large war-brigs, with their guns and ammunition, together with a certain number of great guns, and a quantity of powder and shot. The rajah, however, refused to deprive his family of so valuable a hereditary possession, to which the Malays attach the miraculous power of curing all kinds of diseases, by means of the water in which it is dipped, and with which they imagine that the fortune of the family is connected.'

In the section to which we have just alluded, Mr Brande has given a brief sketch of the operations connected with the application of coal gas to the purposes of illumination. As this mode of lighting streets and buildings has been attempted

in various places in this country without success, arising in a great measure from the high price of coal, we beg leave to call the attention of the enterprising and speculative to the apparatus for the conversion of *oil* into gas. It appears that the commonest and most impure kinds of whale or other oils, which are quite unfit for burning in the usual way, ' afford an abundance of excellent gas, requiring no other purification than passing through a refrigerator, to free it of a quantity of empyreumatic vapor. A gallon of whale oil affords about 100 cubical feet of gas, and an Argand burner, equal to seven candles, consumes a cubical foot and a half per hour.' The cost of a lamp fed by oil gas, and giving the light of seven candles, is stated at three farthings per hour ' of Argand's lamp,

with spermaceti oil, - - -	3d.
mould candles, - - -	3½d.
wax candles, - - -	14d.'

Mr Brande has ascertained, ' by a series of experiments, conducted with every requisite caution, that, to produce the light of ten wax candles for one hour, there were required

2600	cubical inches of carburetted hydrogen or olefiant gas,
4875 - - - - -	oil gas,
13120 - - - - -	coal gas.'

The fitness of the gas obtained from coal is dependent on the quantity of carburetted hydrogen, or olefiant gas, contained in it, and ' the fitness of the purified mixed gas for illumination, will be directly as its specific gravity.' It has been proved by experiment, that ' purified *coal gas* seldom contains more than 40 *per cent.* in volume of carburetted hydrogen, while *oil gas* generally affords about 70 per cent.; hence its superiority for burning and the relatively small quantity consumed.' The gas is obtained by decomposing the oil, and for this purpose a very simple apparatus is required, consisting of ' a furnace with a contorted iron tube, containing fragments of brick or coke,' and the oil is suffered to drop into this. The oil ' is converted almost entirely into charcoal, which is deposited in the tube, and into a mixture of carburetted hydrogen, and hydrogen gases, of which from two to three cubic feet may be regarded as equivalent to five or six of coal gas, for the production of light.'

The fifth chapter of the work before us embraces the metals and their compounds. In the section on nickel we find rather a meagre account of aërolites or meteoric stones. The ter-

restrial formation of these bodies, Mr Brande considers as disproved by the most satisfactory and indisputable evidence. The opinion to which he inclines, in regard to their origin, will be evident from the following quotation.

'To account for these uncommon visitations of metallic and lapideous bodies, a variety of hypotheses has been suggested. Are they merely earthy matter, fused by lightning? Are they the offspring of any terrestrial volcano? These were once favorite notions; but we know of no instance in which similar bodies have in that way been produced, nor do the lavas of known volcanoes in the least resemble these bodies; to say nothing of the inexplicable projectile force that would here be wanted. This is merely explaining what is puzzling, by assuming what is impossible; and the persons who have taken up this conjecture, have assumed one impossibility to account for what they conceive to be another, namely, that the stony bodies should come from any other source than our own globe.

The notion that these bodies come from the moon is, when considered, neither absurd nor impossible. It is quite true, that the quiet way in which they visit us is against such an origin; it seems, however, that any power which would move a body 6000 feet in a second, that is, about three times the velocity of a cannon ball, would throw it from the sphere of the moon's attraction into that of our earth. The cause of this projective force may be a volcano, and if thus impelled, the body would reach us in about two days, and enter our atmosphere with a velocity of about 25000 feet in a second. Their ignition may be accounted for, either by supposing the heat generated by their motion in our atmosphere sufficient to ignite them, or by considering them as combustibles, ignited by the mere contact of air.

While we are considering the *possibility* of these opinions, it may be remembered, that in the great laboratory of the atmosphere, chemical changes *may* happen, attended by the *production* of iron and other metals; that, at all events, such a circumstance is within the range of possible occurrences; and that the meteoric bodies which thus salute the earth with stony showers, may be children of the air, created by the union of simpler forms of matter. The singular relationship between iron and nickel and magnetism, and the uniform influence of meteoric phenomena on the magnetic needle, should be taken into account in these hypotheses.'

Neither professor Brande nor the American editor, has taken any notice of the theory proposed by president Clap, of Yale college. He supposed that meteors 'are small terres-

'trial comets revolving about the earth in the same manner as the solar comets revolve about the sun. That moving in very eccentric orbits, when in perigee, they pass through the atmosphere, are highly electrified, and consequently become luminous. As they approach their lower apside, their electricity is discharged, the body disappears, and a report is heard. This being admitted, it is not strange that, by the violence of the shock, portions of the meteor should be thrown to the earth, while the main body, not sensibly affected by so small a loss, continues to move on in its orbit, and of course ceases to be luminous.' (Amer. Philos. Trans. Vol. 6.) We are aware of the objections to this hypothesis, and that it has been ably discussed by Dr Blagden. But when we consider that it was started before the modern discovery of the four small planets, before the discovery of a comet with a period of only twelve hundred days, of which we gave an account in our last number, and before the discovery of a revolving transparent nebulous substance made by Dr Olbers, and mentioned in this journal for April 1820, we think president Clap's conjecture does him great credit, and that it required far greater reach of speculation than it would now do.

In the sixth chapter of the work under review, there are many valuable details respecting the analysis of metalliferous compounds, in which the author, as he candidly acknowledges, has availed himself largely of the invaluable analytical labours of Klaproth and others. The correctness of these processes appears to have been, for the most part, 'submitted to the test of experimental repetition in the laboratory of the Royal Institution.' We find many judicious remarks in regard to the difficulties and fallacies by which the young analyst is too apt to be discouraged, and fully agree with our author, that 'the practice of submitting substances of known composition to analysis, cannot be too strongly recommended to the chemical student. It makes him acquainted with the mutual actions and habitudes of a number of bodies which experience can alone teach, and gives a dexterity of manipulation and an accuracy in conducting experimental inquiries, of which he will find the value when subsequently in the pursuit of original investigations.'

We were not a little surprised to see the blow-pipe of the old form, the application of which is exceedingly difficult to be acquired, recommended for general use. No notice is

taken of the improved instrument of Mr Brooke, which, though not quite so portable as the former, is on every other account to be preferred; nor is there any description of the more powerful apparatus of our ingenious countryman, professor Hare. These omissions of Mr Brande should by all means have been supplied by the American editor.

The seventh chapter on the analysis of mineral waters, is preceded by a plan and description of a portable laboratory, which will be found highly convenient for all the necessary operations in these interesting and important researches. Mr Brande has not adverted to the mode of analysis recommended by the late Dr Murray, 'because', as he observes, 'I cannot admit the existence of incompatible salts to the extent which his principle requires.' The student is referred for a variety of useful details to the works of Drs Marcet and Scudamore; Messrs Phillips and Thenard.

The objects of the eighth chapter are the formation of vegetable substances and their chemical physiology, the analysis of vegetable products and the properties of their proximate component parts, and the phenomena and products of fermentation. The ninth chapter is devoted to the subject of animal chemistry.

The remainder of the volume is principally geological, and is in fact a reprint of the author's 'Outlines of Geology,' published in 1817. An account of the principal chemical characters of minerals is an important part of every treatise on chemistry, but we are disposed to consider the introduction of geological speculations as superfluous. As these sections, however, have been retained by the American editor, we should have been pleased to have seen those additions and 'emendations,' which they so evidently require. We have not found a reference to a single locality of American minerals, nor to any of those points in the geological structure of this country, which might, with very little labor, have been added. Such additions would have rendered this part of the work far more interesting and valuable. Professor Brande evidently inclines to the Huttonian hypothesis, in regard to the origin of rocks, but has given an interesting and perspicuous abstract of the opinions of other geologists most entitled to attention. The following is his description of a set of rocks, which from personal examination, we know bear a great resemblance in structure to some in the vicinity of this

town, and to which we alluded in the number of this journal for October, 1820.

'Before we quit the subject of primary rocks, it will be right to mention a district of Britain, which, for grandeur of scenery and geological interest, can, I think, scarcely be surpassed. I allude to the country between the eastern extremity of Lochness and Fort George, and especially to the rocks over which the river Fyers pursues its turbulent and winding course.

'These are seen in characteristic grandeur in the neighbourhood of the small inn, called the General's Hut, and the scenery becomes more and more impressive and interesting, until we arrive at the celebrated falls of the river. I should call the rock a *granitic breccia*, or *conglomerate;* it appears made up of numerous angular,' and we beg leave to add, *rounded* 'fragments of granitic materials, held together by a silicious cement, and the aggregate is of extreme hardness and durability; masses resembling jasper and agate may also be observed in it.

The general features and rugged irregularities of this district, continues Mr Brande,

'Considered conjointly with the peculiar texture and composition of the materials that form it, present many objects worthy the attention of some geologist, and may be regarded as recording some great natural convulsion, which has not only broken up and reunited certain primary rocks, but has again disturbed their tranquillity, and thrown them into the stupendous confusion they now exhibit.'

The geological part of Mr Brande's work is embellished with a number of engravings, the principal part of which are reduced copies of the admirable sketches of Dr Maculloch, in the Transactions of the Geological Society of London.

Mr Brande takes but a brief notice of volcanoes, and considers that, from the discoveries of sir H. Davy, we may 'deduce a very adequate solution of the problem of volcanoes, for we have only to suppose the access of water to large masses of those peculiar metals which constitute the alcaline and earthy bases, and we are possessed of all that is wanted to produce the tremendous effects of earthquakes and volcanoes; for what power can resist the expansive force of steam, and the sudden evolution of gaseous fluids, accompanied by torrents of the earths in igneous fusion, which such a concurrence of circumstances would give rise to, and which are the actual concomitants of volcanic eruptions?"

Upon the analysis and composition of soils, Mr Brande has extracted largely from sir H. Davy's Elements of agricultural chemistry. This is a subject of great importance to the practical agriculturist, and is, we are happy to observe, attracting the attention of gentlemen in this country. An examination of the geological structure of any district of country, will be found of essential advantage in promoting the most efficient methods of culture. In illustration of this remark we refer our readers to a valuable paper of Dr Paris, in the 1st Vol. of the Trans. of the Geolog. Soc. of Cornwall. 'The line of junction,' observes Dr Paris, 'between the granite and slate formations, may, in many parts, be traced by the eye alone, through tracts of cultivation, from the remarkable fertility which attends it. It may be defined a *zone of fertility.*' Mr Worgan in his view of the agriculture of Cornwall has also noticed a district of great fertility, at the junction of granite and slate. Again, Dr Paris tells us that he was requested by a friend 'to examine whether any geological arrangements could explain the cause of a particular line in his estate, being more fertile than the neighbouring lands; upon tracing the direction of the granite and slate formations, we soon discovered that this line of superior fertility was superincumbent upon the junction of these rocks.' During the summer of 1816 in a geological excursion around the peninsula of the Lizard, Dr Paris was accompanied 'by a very intelligent farmer of that district, who informed him that the *killas* (or clay slate) and *growan** lands as they came together were much improved in quality, and that they were mutually increased as much as one third in value; he also stated that the crops upon this "*rich vein*" were much earlier.'

ART. XXI.—*A geological and agricultural survey of Rensselaer county in the state of New York. Taken under the direction of the honorable Stephen Van Rensselaer.* Albany, 1822. pp. 70.

THE importance of geological and agricultural surveys, at which we have hinted in the preceding article, is beginning to be duly estimated in this country, and a most praiseworthy example has been given by Mr Van Rensselaer of New York,

* The provincial name for decomposed granite.

under whose patronage, an undertaking of this kind has just been completed by Mr Amos Eaton. Mr Eaton's labors we have had occasion to notice in a former number of this journal (Oct. 1820,) and we are happy to find, that the ardor, of which we then expressed our approbation, has not been repressed by the 'impudence' of 'ephemeral reviewers.' The objects to which the liberal patron of Mr Eaton appears to have directed his attention, have, we doubt not, been fully attained, as far as regards 'collecting materials for a kind of agricultural calendar, to direct the young and inexperienced farmer in regard to times of sowing, planting, &c. &c.' In this laborious undertaking, Mr Eaton tells us, he did 'not converse with every farmer in the county,' but 'called on one, at least, in every neighbourhood in all the towns, and wrote down in his presence, the methods of culture adopted by himself, and by his neighhours, as far as had come to his knowledge.' This method was evidently well calculated to collect a mass of valuable information, and to throw much light on the state of agriculture in the county. The result of these communications is given in a plain and familiar style.

The remarks of Dr Paris, to which we have alluded in the preceding article, would appear to hold good in respect to some parts of Rensselaer county. At page 23, Mr Eaton observes, that 'almost every farmer, whose land is situated on slate hills, has observed that his soils are yearly becoming deeper and better,' and that 'ten or twelve years ago several fields were chiefly made up of bare rocky (slaty) knolls. Now most of these knolls have become good arable land.'

Mr Eaton describes all the mountainous parts of this county as 'excellent for oats, barley, flax, potatoes, turnips, beets, and carrots. And every part of the county is very productive of either grass or clover.' He considers the soil of the Knickerbacker estate in Schaghticoke (is there no article in the amended constitution of New York, which gives the legislature the power to change names?) as the standard of excellence. It contains an average of fifteen per cent of animal and vegetable matter, and a large proportion of carbonate of lime.'

'The rotation method which has always been adopted by this family (they have occupied it one hundred and twenty years, and five generations have been born upon it) has been in the following simple order. Certain fields have been alternately devoted to

wheat and peas. Those fields are sowed to peas in April. Immediately after the peas are harvested, it is ploughed three times, and sowed, from the 10th to the 20th of September, to wheat. After the wheat harvest, it is pastured until winter; but no grass or clover seed is ever sown upon it, as these grow up spontaneously in great abundance. Sometimes oats and flax are substituted for peas. Thus a crop is harvested on each wheat field every year,—one year wheat, the other peas, oats or flax. Though no manure is ever applied to this land, it has yielded from twenty-five to thirty bushels of wheat per acre every other year for ages past.

'Certain other fields are devoted to Indian corn, potatoes, &c. In the culture of these there has been nearly the same uniformity. 1st, Corn and potatoes; 2d, Spring-sown grain; 3d, Wheat. Thus corn returns every fourth year.

'The whole of Schaghticoke flats, consisting of almost two thousand acres, is very similar in quality, and cultivated in a similar manner. It is wholly river alluvion, in which the Hosick and the Tomhanick unite their waters.'

Of the correctness of the geological part of this pamphlet, we are unable to judge, not having visited any of the localities to which it refers. We cannot but entertain the hope that the author has derived some improvement from the opportunities he has enjoyed of examining a considerable portion of the northern states. He appears still however, at times, somewhat unfortunate in his definitions, an instance of which will be found in a note at the bottom of page 12. He here informs us that the term *breccia* was applied by Werner to the old red sandstone, 'because brittleness or friability is its most distinctive characteristic.' Overlooking the distinction between *brittleness* and *friability*, we would inform Mr Eaton, that the term *breccia* was adopted from the Italian, and is applied to those rocks, which appear to be composed of fragments of other rocks cemented into a compact mass.

While we again express our sense of the value and importance of surveys of this kind, and of the benefits which Mr Van Rensselaer has conferred upon the country in affording them his countenance and patronage, and while we hope to see his patriotic example followed in every part of the United States, we must as freely confess that we do not place entire confidence in the geological speculations of Mr Eaton. Some of these, we apprehend, may admit of revision, while his judicious remarks, that 'trees should not be too large when set out,' that 'March pigs killed about Christmas are the

most profitable pork,' and that 'pigs ought never to come till June,' will, no doubt, be allowed to constitute permanent and important improvements in the branches of agriculture and husbandry.

Art. XXII.—*An Arithmetic on the plan of Pestalozzi, with some Improvements. By Warren Colburn.* Boston: Cummings and Hilliard. 1821. pp. 143. 18mo.

We shall make no apology for calling the attention of our readers to a subject of so humble a nature as elementary instruction in Arithmetic, but such as is contained in the great merit of the book before us.

Notwithstanding every thing that has been said and done of late, in reference to the subject of education, the modes of instruction are still very far behind the actual state of science, and none of them farther than those made use of in arithmetic. The books now almost universally used, and many of the notions which prevail, are of the same sort that were in use and prevailed, when young children were thought quite incapable of learning arithmetic. A notice of so rare a thing as a book on the subject, written by a man of talents, and perfectly adapted to its purpose, cannot be thought useless, while books are used in almost all our schools, suited neither to the comprehension of children, nor, if they could be comprehended, to the end for which they are designed.

The difficulties which, by the prevalent mode of teaching, are thrown in the way of the learner, are well noticed in the preface to this volume.

'The pupil, when he commences arithmetic, is presented with a set of *abstract* numbers, written with *figures*, and so large that he has not the least conception of them, even when expressed in *words*. From these he is expected to learn what the figures signify, and what is meant by addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division; and, at the same time, how to perform these operations with figures. The consequence is, that he learns only one of all these things, and that is, how to perform these operations on figures. He can perhaps translate the figures into words; but this is useless, since he does not understand the words themselves. Of the effect produced by the four fundamental operations he has not the least conception.'

These difficulties, with others, arising from the manner in which the study is pursued, and the want of capacity in the instructers, render arithmetic, instead of a most simple and practical thing, one of the most irksome and unintelligible that can be presented to the young mind. Mr Colburn's book is liable to none of these objections. A child sees, at once, from the examples, that arithmetic is something which he can understand, and which will be of use to him.

In another respect, this book is likely to do a great deal of good. It contains excellent instruction for teachers. Directions are often as much required for them as for their pupils. The discipline of the infant mind is almost the only thing for directing which no apprenticeship, no experience, and very little information are in this country, at least, supposed to be required.* A man is often deemed capable of teaching, for the very reason that he has shown himself incapable of any thing else. The only part of us, which is immortal, is abandoned to the care of such as are unable to do aught for the body; and he who has no memory, nor taste, nor power of reasoning himself, is to communicate them, or develop and show the best means of improving them, in another. Now and then, a poor student in college, who was waked from the lethargy of ignorance by the pressure of adversity, and has been nursed in her arms, who has learned how to teach from the necessity of teaching himself, may stumble upon a natural method; and even then he is compelled to abandon his hope of improvement, from finding books, and the habits of his pupils and common opinion, opposed to him. These are obstacles which it is not easy to overcome. There are no books which contain the results of the experience of others. These have not been recorded in our language; and a person, on beginning to instruct, is very much in the condition of one who should begin an art or profession, which had never been exercised before. He is ignorant of the material he is to work upon, the instrument he is to use, and the effect to be produced. To such a person, the practical views contained in Mr Colburn's

* In many parts of Germany there are excellent schools for schoolmasters. An institution of this kind, of high repute, is supported by the grand duke of Saxe-Weimar. This is a state of about 200,000 inhabitants. How does the support of the institution of which we speak, in its little metropolis, compare with the Vandal proposal made in the legislature of Massachusetts, at its last session, to abridge the provisions made by our laws for the support of education!

sensible preface, and the directions in the key will be of great use.

These directions and the arrangement of the examples are so excellent, that one hardly need understand the subject previously; if he will but go straight forward in the path pointed out, he will teach exceedingly well.

There are two ways in which the book may be used. The first is with the plates which accompany it, and which are intended for children who are beginning the study. These render the solution of questions practical, as well as the questions themselves. We shall not describe the use of these, nor the particular parts of the plan, which has already been published under the disguise of a disgusting book by Neef. It is sufficient to observe, that the difficulties are so introduced, that one only occupies the attention of the pupil at once. After having gone through the examples with the plates, which may be done by children of eight or nine years, the pupil will be able, by means of the plates, to solve readily and intelligibly, most of the questions that commonly occur, in which the numbers are small.

The same examples, in the same order, proposed to be solved without the slate, or any other mechanical assistance whatever, furnish an intellectual exercise, which may be of great use to pupils in any stage of their education.

We have no doubt that Mr Colburn's book will do much to effect an important change in the common mode of teaching arithmetic; and of its speedy adoption the rapid sale of the first edition, and its great intrinsic merit, give the highest promise. We understand that a second edition, still farther improved, is in the press; and that the author intends to publish another little volume for the especial use of older pupils.

We hope Mr Colburn will go on in making school books, and, by furnishing one upon a similar plan, for geometry, for drawing, and for algebra, will afford the means of giving instruction in the better sort of schools an entirely new character.

ART. XXIII.—*A Discourse on the Early History of Pennsylvania; being an Annual Oration delivered before the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting useful Knowledge, June* 6, 1821. *By Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL. D.*

THE history of almost every people begins in fable. It is not in the first weak struggles of a barbarous tribe, for ascendancy over its neighbors, that the future conquerors of mankind are to be discerned; nor is it in the execution of petty schemes of traffic or plunder, that we can foresee an opulent maritime power, which is to cover the sea with her ships, and the land with monuments of her commercial splendor. Great as may be the destinies of the infant nation, there is nothing to arrest attention in the obscure events of her early growth, as she slowly and painfully emerges from insignificance, until her subsequent wealth, power, and refinement have imparted an interest to the minutest incidents of her primitive history. Then it is that the poet seeks to flatter the pride of his countrymen, and to excite his own imagination by swelling the little chieftains of his ancestry into heroes, and peopling the dark void of his country's origin with demigods, whose pretensions, like objects viewed through mist, are magnified by the very darkness in which they are enveloped. To the rhapsodies of the bard succeed the legends of the annalist, or the researches of the antiquary, each supplying the defect of authentic records by fanciful reasonings, by conjectures whose far-fetched ingenuity is not always enough to redeem them from the imputation of folly and falsehood, and by vain attempts to throw light upon that which the unsparing hand of time has long since consigned to perpetual oblivion. Such are the thousand mystical tales, which Herodotus received from the Egyptian priests. Such are the apocryphal expeditions, wars, and conquests of the Greeks, and the deities, whose combats and intrigues have, at least, furnished the subject of many a beautiful fiction to Homer, Hesiod, or Apollonius. Such too, there is reason to believe, is no small part of the history of the kings of Rome, which Livy confesses to rest upon slender proofs, and which Dionysius and Plutarch narrate with a particularity more suspicious than even the silence of older historians. The same cloud of uncertainty hangs over the rise of the mo-

dern nations of Europe, whose minstrels will point out to you, in the obscure and broken traditions of their forefathers, some Trojan hero like Brute, or Scandinavian god like Odin, to render their first beginning illustrious.

The only exceptions to this are in the case of colonies planted in a foreign country by populous and flourishing nations, which, being at the time in possession of arts and literature, can transmit to posterity an account of the origin of their colonies, of the causes which led to their establishment, and of the distinguished individuals who communicated dignity and splendor to the enterprise. If such a colony should outlive the perils and hardships to which its commencement was exposed, if it should gradually rise up to the rank of a powerful empire, capable of coping successfully even with the people which gave it birth, and if, having attained the strength and robustness of manhood, it should throw off the dominion of its parent state, and boldly place itself among the independent nations of the earth, it may then look back with sentiments of honorable pride upon the patriots who founded it in the wilderness, the heroes who defended it from hostile aggression, and the statesmen by whom it was lifted up to its subsequent elevation and grandeur.

We, therefore, who trace the very beginning of our national being to a period when mankind had already become polished by civilization; who sprang from a land where science was even then fostered and flourishing; whose progenitors brought with them across the ocean a share of the knowledge, refinement and letters of their contemporaries in Europe; and who, from the first morning that an American sun rose upon our fathers to light them on amid the unexplored deserts of the west, down to the day which is now passing over our heads, have never ceased to consult our own glory, and the good of those who are to come after us, by cultivating literature and science,—we have no occasion to call upon the doubtful aid of fiction for the celebration of our ancestry, devoid as it is of the false brilliancy which a series of deified heroes may have thrown upon the lineage of Europeans. The curious and learned, indeed, may contend for the rival claims of Spain or Portugal, of England or France, to the dominion of the new world; they may dispute on the priority of the voyages of Vespucci or Columbus to this continent; they may speculate on the expeditions of Biron from Norway, or of Madoc from

Wales; or they may ascend higher, and amuse themselves with seeking for the Νῆσοι Μακάρων, the Blessed Isles of Pindar, or the Atlantis of Plato, in the fertile regions of tropical America; but their discussions, strikingly as they tend to show how many of the events which to-day are notorious and important, are forgotten among the vicissitudes of to-morrow, do not shake the credibility of the general facts of our early history, nor cast any doubtfulness upon the characters and deeds of those, who laid the foundations of our public prosperity.

We have been led into this course of reflection by the perusal of Mr Du Ponceau's eloquent discourse on the early history of Pennsylvania, and especially by his remarks on the character of William Penn, in which, if he displays an enthusiastic admiration of this great apostle of peace, it is certainly an enthusiasm equally honorable to his head and to his heart.

'If I had not already trespassed too much upon your patience,' he observes, 'I would with delight pass in review before you some more, at least, of the interesting traits with which this history abounds, and which an abler pen than mine will, I hope, at no distant day, fully delineate. Above all, I should love to dwell on the great character of our immortal founder, and to point out, by numerous examples, that astonishing ascendancy over the minds of the mass of mankind, which enabled him to raise a flourishing commonwealth by means of all others the most apparently inadequate. To acquire and secure the possession of an extensive country, inhabited by numerous tribes of warlike savages, without arms, without forts, without the use or even the demonstration of physical force, was an experiment which none but a superior mind would have conceived, which none but a master-spirit could have successfully executed. Yet this experiment succeeded in a manner that has justly excited the astonishment of the whole world. "Of all the colonies that ever existed," says Ebeling, "none was ever founded on so philanthropic a plan, none was so deeply impressed with the character of its founder, none practised in a greater degree the principles of toleration, liberty and peace, and none rose and flourished more rapidly than Pennsylvania. She was the youngest of the British colonies established before the eighteenth century, but it was not long before she surpassed most of her elder sisters in population, agriculture, and general prosperity."* This our author justly ascribes to the genius of William Penn, who, disdaining vulgar means, dared to

* 'Geschichte von Pennsylvania, in his Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von America, v. vi.'

found his power and his commonwealth on the nobler feelings of man.' *Discourse*, pp. 26, 27.

Again, in another part of his discourse, Mr Du Ponceau observes:—

'The character of William Penn alone sheds a never-fading lustre upon our history. No other state in the union can boast of such an illustrious founder; none began their social career under auspices so honorable to humanity. Every trait of the life of that great man, every fact and anecdote of those golden times, will be sought for by our descendants with avidity, and will furnish many an interesting subject for the fancy of the novelist, and the enthusiasm of the poet.' Ibid. p. 13.

If any thing could induce us to qualify the panegyric here bestowed on the great founder of Pennsylvania, it would be the rare combination of propitious circumstances under which his enterprise was conducted; for, although one of the clearest tokens of a powerful mind is an ability to discern and profit by the favorable occasions that chance may throw in our way, still we should do wrong to attribute entirely to a native energy of soul, those consequences, which flowed in part, at least, from birth, fortune, opportunity, or any other accidental advantages. When, therefore, we advert to the early establishment or speedy growth of Pennsylvania, as redounding to the peculiar glory of William Penn, we ought to consider that he was not, like the primitive settlers of Massachusetts, a fugitive from the justice, or more truly speaking, the injustice of his native country, when that country would scarcely grant the poor boon of obtaining a shelter from ecclesiastical oppression in the wilderness of the west. Born of distinguished parentage and the heir of large possessions; admitted to the familiar converse of one king, and honored with the personal friendship of another; rather conferring a favor on his master, than receiving one from him, in consenting to accept a grant of wild and distant lands, in lieu of a debt due his family from the crown; and, although a persecuted sectarian, yet elevated by that very persecution to the rank and influence of a prophet among his enthusiastic associates in religious faith:—uniting, as he did, all these extraneous advantages with a ready eloquence and unbounded zeal, it would have been extraordinary if he had not effected more, than it was possible to do with the scanty resources of those who planted most of the sister colonies in America.

We do not wish, by these remarks, to be understood as calling in question the merits of a legislator, whom Montesquieu has honored with the title of America's Lycurgus. The keenness of foresight, the sagacity and penetration of judgment, the fertility in inventing and clearness of discernment in applying resources, which the events of his life display, are no less remarkable, than the pure spirit of universal benevolence, which seems to have been the governing principle of all his actions, as it was the leading tenet in his particular views of religion. By steadily adhering to the maxims of gospel charity in the establishment of his commonwealth, he secured it against many of those violent shocks, which at that time threatened the dissolution of some of the older and robuster colonies, especially from the hostility of the savages, over whom, by pacific measures, by kind treatment, probity, and equitable dealing, he gained an ascendancy far more complete than any exhibition of military force could have imparted. It is not strictly true, indeed, which some foreign writers have asserted, that he was the first of the colonists to treat with the savages on an equal footing, and to obtain their lands by honorable purchase; for numerous instances occur, in the history of other colonies, where the same respect was shown to the primeval lords of the soil. Dr Belknap, in his excellent American Biography, observes, that 'it had been a common thing in New England,' for fifty years before the time of Penn, 'to make fair and regular purchases of land from the Indians.' But although William Penn did not first set the example of this moderation, he and his followers alone persisted in the practice of it, and thus preserved the goodwill of their savage neighbors, while, in other parts of the country, a different course of conduct on the part of the colonists subjected them to a series of wasteful and vindictive wars, which ended only in the extermination of some of the most powerful among the aboriginal tribes. There is little doubt, for instance, that, if all the colonies had entertained the same ardent love of peace which actuated the settlers of Pennsylvania, our ancestors would have avoided the cruel wars waged against first the Pequot, then the Pokanoket, and afterwards the Penobscot indians, which, for more than a hundred years, were the source of constant apprehension, expense, and suffering to the inhabitants of New England.

The same enlightened spirit of benevolence, which led

Penn to consult his true interest in adopting peaceful means of avoiding the enmity of the savages, dictated the memorable clause in the code of laws drawn up by him for the use of his colony, that 'all persons living in the province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship.' The constant assertion of this golden rule of civil society, and that too by one whose life and fortune were devoted to the task of gaining proselytes for that peculiar sect, of which he was the illustrious chief, evinces a liberality of feeling, which, in that age, seldom accompanied a high degree of religious enthusiasm.

The character of William Penn, upon which we have been tempted to pause for a moment, is adduced by Mr Du Ponceau, among other things to the same effect, in illustration and enforcement of his belief, that the colonial history of Pennsylvania affords much to instruct and to please, that is worthy to be handed down to posterity in a less perishable form than the scattered tracts and meagre compilations, in which it is now for the most part recorded; and if Mr Duponceau's zeal in the cause of learning were not so honorably employed in another department of historical research, we might regret, with him, that his age or professional avocations should prevent his becoming the historian of Pennsylvania. That the history of that, as well as of the other colonies, abounds with a variety of striking and curious incidents, we think no one, who is familiar with the old memorials and records of our origin, will be disposed to deny, when he considers the traits of individual daring and national firmness, of private and public virtue, of dignified resolution in suffering, and of noble moderation in prosperity, of which the whole course of our colonial history furnishes unnumbered examples. And we have every reason to express the same hope as to Massachusetts, which Mr Du Ponceau has expressed with respect to Pennsylvania, that the history of our name and race may ere long be rescued from the mouldering records, evanescent pamphlets, and ill-digested abridgments, in which it now lies buried, and be consigned to monuments more worthy of its intrinsic value.

In conclusion, we will only add one more extract from Mr Du Ponceau's discourse, which forcibly illustrates the considerations that we have just now suggested, and would serve as no unfit introduction to the delightful descriptions of scenery and manners in Gertrude of Wyoming.

'Let it not be imagined that the annals of Pennsylvania are not sufficiently interesting to call forth the talents of an eloquent historian. It is true, that they exhibit none of those striking events which the vulgar mass of mankind consider as alone worthy of being transmitted to posterity. No ambitious rival warriors occupy the stage, nor are strong emotions excited by the frequent description of scenes of blood, murder and devastation. But what country on earth ever presented such a spectacle as this fortunate commonwealth held out to view for the space of near one hundred years, realizing all that fable ever invented, or poetry ever sang of an imaginary golden age! Happy country, whose unparalleled innocence already communicates to thy history the interest of romance! Should Pennsylvanians hereafter degenerate, they will not need, like the Greeks, a fabulous Arcadia to relieve the mind from the prospect of their crimes and follies, and to redeem their own vices by the fancied virtues of their forefathers. Pennsylvania once realized what never existed before, except in fabled story. Not that her citizens were entirely free from the passions of human nature, for they were men, and not angels; but it is certain that no country on earth ever exhibited such a scene of happiness, innocence, and peace, as was witnessed here during the first century of our social existence. I well remember them, those patriarchal times, when simple, yet not inelegant manners prevailed every where among us; when rusticity was devoid of roughness, and polished life diffused its mild radiance around, unassuming and unenvied; when society was free from the constraint of etiquette and parade; when love was not crossed by avarice or pride, and friendships were unbroken by ambition and intrigue. This was the spectacle which Pennsylvania offered even in the midst of the storms of our revolution, and which she continued to exhibit until a sudden influx of riches broke in upon the land, and brought in its train luxury more baneful than war.'

ART. XXIV.—*Elements of Interpretation, translated from the Latin of J. A. Ernesti, accompanied with Notes. By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover.*

THE Bible, of all books, is most worthy of every effort which can be made to throw light upon its sacred communications, and to convey them with clearness and emphasis to the human mind. The truth of this proposition is too generally admitted to need illustration; and, in point of fact, the Bible has engaged as much of the attention of learned men, in some connexion or other, as perhaps all the other writings which have descended to us from antiquity. Notwithstanding, however, what it deserves, and what has been done, probably no other book has suffered so much, both from the learned and the unlearned, as the sacred volume. We have reference now more particularly to the pretended principles of interpretation, which have been applied to it, of some of which we shall give a short sketch, in order to show the desirableness of such a work, as that which heads this article.

The mode of interpretation, which was earliest formed into any thing like a system, has been denominated the *allegorical*, and may be traced back even beyond the days of Philo, who was contemporary with the apostles. If it be not allowable to call Philo the great master of allegorical interpretation, it is only because he found a superior in Origen. But it was not the fault of Philo alone to interpret the scriptures allegorically, it was the fault also of the Jews generally of the age in which he lived. The Jews derived this method of interpretation from the Greeks, and the latter, if we mistake not, must attribute the glory, if so it may be called, of its first introduction among them to the inventive genius of Plato. Although this last named philosopher had been a poet himself in his younger days, yet, owing to his ill success in this vocation, or some other cause, he gradually acquired, not merely a dislike, but apparently a decided antipathy to the whole Parnassian tribe. He excluded them from his ideal republic, and, to rectify the influence of their fictions on the popular belief, he gave an allegorical interpretation to the whole of their mythology. In pursuit of this system, the Jupiter, who, in the estimation of the people, was enthroned on the snowy cliffs of

Olympus, became nothing more than the pure æther which extends over our heads; Juno was discovered to be the earth; and the monster Saturn, who was guilty of the destruction of his own children, was identified at last as the personified representative of Time, which indeed looks both forwards and backwards, and crumbles all things into nothing.

After the conquest of Alexander, the Jews became mingled in a very considerable degree with the Greeks. One of his successors, Ptolemy Lagus, carried at one time an hundred thousand of them into Egypt, and settled them in Alexandria, a city in the main, peopled by the Greeks. Here the Jewish institutions and histories were made the subject of ridicule, but the Greeks had set them an example; and the Jews, in order to shield themselves, determined to follow it, and allegorized the Bible, as the Greeks had allegorized Homer. This seems to have been the origin of the allegorical interpretation of the Bible, which has prevailed more or less to the present day.

We are unable at present to enter into a minute investigation of this method of interpretation, and would only refer our readers to a work upon this subject, entitled, '*Commentatio de principiis et causis Interpretationis Philonianæ allegoricæ*,' written by professor H. Planck, of Göttingen. In this treatise, the distinction between allegories and allegorical interpretation, the education and intellectual character of Philo, the grounds of his interpretation, the influence of the Greeks, and other points involved, are discussed in a learned and philosophical manner.

In the next generation, we find in the writings of the apostolical fathers, a few instances of the allegorical interpretation. An example may be found in the epistle of Barnabas, if indeed it be not thought to approach too near to the strange inventions of the cabbalistic rabbins. Certainly we should be a little surprised at this day to find the doctrine of the atonement taught in the rite of the circumcision, as first performed in the family of Abraham, but such we must suppose to be the fact, if we adopt the exposition of the ingenious father. The number circumcised, we are informed, was three hundred and eighteen. In Greek *eta* stands for eight, *iota* for ten, and *tau* for three hundred. Here, says Barnabas, we have IH, the two first letters of the name of Jesus, (Ιησους,) and the letter T, which is a cross; an ample testimony, in the opinion of the

writer to the crucifixion of the Saviour, and a proof that this part of the Old Testament at least is an allegory, and that we are to search in it for a deeper and sublimer sense.

This is a single instance, and whatever others there may be, during the whole time from the days of Philo to those of Origen, a period of about two hundred and fifty years, may be found collected together in the work of D. J. G. Rosenmüller, professor at Leipsic, entitled, '*Historia Interpretationis Librorum Sacrorum inde ab Apostolorum ætate usque ad Originem.*'

'From the time of Origen,' says professor Stuart, 'who converted into allegory the account of the creation of the world, the creation and fall of man, and multitudes of other simple facts related in the Bible, down to the Jesuit, who makes the account of the creation of the greater light to rule the day to mean the pope, and the creation of the lesser light and the stars to mean the subjection of kings and princes to the pope, there have been multitudes in and out of the catholic church, who have pursued the same path. The most sacred doctrines of religion have often been defended and assailed by arguments of equal validity, and of the same nature with the exposition of the Jesuit just mentioned. The spirit, which prompts to this, may in some cases be commendable, but as it is a mere business of fancy, connected with no principles of philology, and supported by no reasons, drawn from the nature of language, so it is, for the most part, not only worthless, but dangerous. And of what possible use in the end can a principle be, which can prove the most important doctrine, either of Judaism or Christianity, as well from the first verse of the first chapter of Chronicles, as from any part of the Bible? Or rather of what use can the Bible be, if it be interpreted on such principles?'

During that night of the human mind, which has been denominated the dark ages, although it must be admitted, that the disposition still continued to make the scriptures speak in allegories, it would be nearer the truth to say, that the scriptures themselves, as well as all rational interpretation of them, had fallen into general oblivion. The study of the scriptures revived in the protestant church after the reformation, yet so late as the year seventeen hundred, we find a system promulgated, defended and embraced, which can vie with the cabbalistic for conceit, and with the allegorical for mysticism. We allude now to the interpretation of Cocceius, formerly professor of theology at Leyden; a man, who was acknowledged learned, especially in the Hebrew and the Greek. It is the

great prerogative of the Cocceian interpretation, to discover worlds of meaning, while it is given to others to elicit only an ordinary share. Thus, according to the faith of Cocceius and his followers, the story of the creation of the world is a history of the church, and the seven days of the divine operations are the seven great periods of the earthly pilgrimage of our holy religion. The same mighty range of history is contained in the difficult book of Canticles, and is repeated, as was very natural, in the seven seals of the apocalypse.

The younger Turretin, in his book '*De Sacræ Scripturæ Interpretatione*,' says, that there was a certain man in Germany, a follower of Cocceius, and a scholar withal, who had lately published a treatise, entitled, '*Mysterium Jesu revelatum, seu spiritus Prophetiæ.*' In this book, the writer gives the following exposition of the war, made by Abraham against certain kings, of which we find an account in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. The king Chedorlaomer represents those who seek for justification by works, because according to this writer's system of etymology, Chedorlaomer means one, who heads an army for the sake of gain. By the king of Sodom is meant antichrist; by Lot, the faithful who are living in the abodes of antichrist; by Abraham, the reformers; by Melchisedek, Christ; and by the war, in which Abraham conquered Chedorlaomer and his allies, is meant the contest which was agitated about the time of the Reformation, respecting grace and the merit of works. Of a kindred character is his exposition of the twenty eighth chapter of Exodus. And yet the system of Cocceius found a multitude of followers, and was defended with a great deal of zeal at least, if not with judgment and ingenuity. As a proof of its popularity, it will be sufficient to refer to the controversy which commenced in 1707. In this year, a treatise was published by Peter Joncourt, French preacher in the Walloon church at the Hague, with the following title; '*Entretiens sur les differentes methodes d'expliquer l'Ecriture et de precher de ceux qu'on appelle Cocceiens et Vöetiens, dans les Provinces unies*' *&c.* Joncourt, says Rosenmüller, shows in his examination of the opinions alluded to in the title just quoted, that they have as little foundation as the interpretations of the Jewish *midrashes*, and if we reject the latter, to be consistent with ourselves, we must reject the former. This severe attack awoke the slumbering ire of the Cocceians, and was soon answered in a book

by Solomon von Fil, also a professor of theology, entitled, '*Antidotum, viperinis morsibus P. Joncourt oppositum.*' Joncourt placed himself in the attitude of defence, and replied in a work published at Amsterdam in 1708. This was answered in a book entitled, '*Le chef des moquers demasqué par Neophile l'Atheleé, à la Haye*, 1708.' The Walloon synod, who had observed the extent and indications of the storm, interfered by way of attacking poor Joncourt, and drew from him a confession. But this did not altogether satisfy the Cocceians, who, having taken up their weapons, were loath to give over the application of them, and belabored him, probably by way of purgation, after he was, in one sense, dead. Such was the violence of contention respecting this famous system. We hope that our readers will not be disposed to consider these remarks as without an object, or as improperly introduced here. They have immediate reference to the subject of the book, placed at the head of this article, and will leave the impression, we trust, of the necessity of a work, plain and rational, convincing in its rules and principles, on the science of biblical interpretation.

We consider it, therefore, a matter of interest and of good promise, to see the Hermeneutica of Ernesti, in a vernacular dress, and made accessible to all classes of readers among us. Ernesti well understood the nature of language, and whether regarded as a mere scholar, or as a man of candor and of wide and rational views, he appears to have been peculiarly fitted for the execution of the work, of which professor Stuart has given us a translation. The original work itself, entitled *Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti*, was published by Ernesti at Leipsic, in the year 1761. Soon after appeared a notice of the work from the author, in the Theological Magazine, entitled *Neue Theologische Bibliothek*, of which he was editor. In this critical notice, Ernesti complains,

'That in the manuals of interpretation, which had preceded his, there had prevailed a great want of system. Every thing is denominated in them *Rules of Interpretation*, although they are mere *historical remarks* on the *use* of words, and whatever else in them may have more the *appearance* of rules or principles, is destitute of proof. The right method, says he, is this; observations must be made, which go to develop the principles of language generally, especially of the language in which the book to be interpreted is written.

'From these observations or facts, rules must be deduced, and

any other rules than those formed in this way are fallacious. The rules should be in form, and should be so definite and clearly expressed, that the application of them may be easy and certain. Since every book has something peculiar in it, those peculiarities should be noticed, as far as they can have any bearing on its interpretation. With such views, I have drawn up my introduction to the interpretation of the New Testament.'

Ernesti made use of the inductive method, a method which we conceive to be as correct in interpretation, as in morals or in intellectual and natural philosophy. He takes language as it is, the medium of communication from mind to mind, and from the nature of language, shows us at once what course is to be pursued in ascertaining its meaning.

The work of Ernesti, in passing through the hands of its translator, has undergone some alterations; some things have been omitted; notes have been added where the subject appeared to need further elucidation; and copious extracts are given from Morus, the able commentator on Ernesti, as likewise from Keil's Elementa Hermeneutices, and Beck's Monogrammata.

As regards the execution of the translation, we have neither time nor disposition to go into minute verbal criticisms, and will leave the translator to speak for himself. 'Such is the excessive difficulty,' says he, 'of putting an English costume upon Ernesti, that I cannot flatter myself that the book does not contain many latinisms, which may be unpleasant to a reader, who is not acquainted with the original. *Quod potui feci.* Without absolutely abandoning the idea of being a translator and making a new book, I could not in general well do more than I have done.' We may add, that a defective sentence, admitting there are such in this translation, is much more excusable in a difficult technical work of this kind, than in a poem or essay, where so much of the merit is expected from the perfection of the style.

There are many subjects introduced into this work, which, were it consistent with our limits, we would gladly examine at some length. As a point, however, of peculiar interest to a respectable portion of young scholars, we would occupy a few moments in a consideration of the dialect of the New Testament, a subject which is briefly discussed in the fourth chapter of the second part. If we explain the New Testament as we would a book written in common Greek, we must necessarily

often go wrong. How many errors, exclaims Ernesti, have arisen from an ignorance of the Hebraistic, an appellation which he gives to the Greek of the New Testament? In order to enter into the spirit and to have a right understanding of this subject, it will be best to notice, in a historical way, some of the changes which the common Greek underwent after the conquests of Alexander, and the causes which combined to produce the oriental or Hellenistic Greek.

After the battle of Cheronæa, the independent republics of Greece, which had been too long separated by the operation of geographical limits, dialects, laws, and local policy, at last became, as it were, brethren beneath the yoke of the conqueror. Previous to this period, the dialect of the Athenians had gained the ascendancy over the others. It now became the language of the court, and in consequence, the medium of communication for the prose writers in all parts of Greece. The general diffusion of this noble dialect was the means of introducing into it a variety of corruptions. New words were introduced instead of old ones, as νήχεσθαι to swim, instead of νεῖν, ἀροτριᾶν to plough, instead of ἀρόω, and in some cases new formations instead of anomalies characteristic of the Attic. In this way, the common Greek, κοινή or Ἑλληνική was formed, to which the modern Greek grammars are adapted.*

As Alexandria in Egypt, under the patronage of the princess of the Egyptian dynasty, became a seat of refinement and learning, the dialect in question, as the medium of the literature of which Alexandria was the centre, is called the Alexandrian. In consequence of the conquest of the Ptolemies in Syria and the adjacent regions, the influence of the victories of Alexander in diffusing the Greek through those countries was confirmed and perpetuated. The Babylonian, the Jew, the Syrian found it necessary to speak or attempt to speak in the language of the government. Such persons were said Ἑλληνίζειν, to speak a *sort* of Greek, and were themselves denominated Ἑλληνισταί. The word Hellenist was, therefore, originally applied to a writer or speaker, who employed the Greek, but whose style of writing or speaking was characterized by an intermixture of oriental idioms.

* The reader will find a learned and perspicuous account of the Greek dialects in the commencement of Buttmann's Greek Grammar. We are happy to learn, that this article of Buttmann's has lately been translated by Prof. Patten of Middlebury, and annexed to his translation of Thiersch's Greek Tables. These tables exhibit the derivation of the Greek tenses, as developed by an examination of the old Ionic poets.

But the difference does not consist merely in the Hellenistic's adopting a *construction* analogous to that of the oriental idioms; it consists as much or more in attaching new significations to common Greek words. Of the few remains of the Hellenistic, which have survived till the present period, the Septuagint and the New Testament claim peculiar attention. Ptolemy Lagus, soon after his establishment in Egypt, subdued Jerusalem, and carried, as has already been observed, 100,000 Jews prisoners to Alexandria, in order to people this new city. During the latter part of Ptolemy's reign, as is commonly supposed, when Philadelphus, his son, was associated with him on the throne, the Septuagint version was commenced. It is known that the Jews, in Alexandria, at this time built synagogues, and adhered to the customs and institutions of their forefathers; and this single circumstance is sufficient to account for an attempt at a Greek version. That the version was made by different translators is clear, from its internal condition, and we may naturally suppose, and the supposition is strengthened by the most creditable testimony of antiquity, that the Pentateuch was the first fruits of this laudable attempt. The other books followed at successive periods, as convenience prompted, or as necessity required. There can hardly be a question that the persons, who made this version, were by birth Jews, and had been accustomed to read the Hebrew Bible from their infancy. Whether it arose from this circumstance, or from an attempt in the translators at a servile imitation of the original, or both, it is certain, that the Septuagint is full of Hebrew idioms.

Hence it happened, that what is elsewhere called Hellenistic, or oriental Greek, is called likewise Hebraistic. Previous to the time of our Saviour, and at that period, the Septuagint was held in the highest estimation. It was read in preference to the Hebrew, and is almost universally quoted in the New Testament. The style of the New Testament is founded on that of the Seventy, and both conform to the Hebrew idiom.

To this general remark, there is hardly an exception worth mentioning. The preface, however, to Luke's gospel is pure Greek, and some of the speeches of Paul are in a good measure free from Hebraisms. Vorstius, who has treated of this subject to great extent, has made thirty-one classes, or different kinds, or instances of Hebraisms. We shall not of course

have time to repeat what he has said, nor what others have added, nor indeed to offer what our own examination of the Greek and Hebrew may have suggested. Ernesti, with the greatest propriety, has taken it for granted, as a question amply investigated and sufficiently ascertained, that the Greek of the scriptures is not that of Athens, is not the '*Κοινη διάλεκτος*,' that it breathes a different spirit, and asks for different laws in its interpretation. We trust it will not be deemed wrong in us to pass by, for the present, the minute evidence of a point, of which the proof and the practical consequences are known to biblical scholars. They no sooner open the New Testament, they no sooner utter '*βίβλος γενέσεως*,' than they express themselves with the notions, the feelings, the education of a Jew, who is compelled by his situation to speak in the language of the Greeks; the language of the Greeks in form and appearance, but not in spirit. It is true, that our schoolboys, although it is happily not so much the fashion as formerly, no sooner have committed their grammars, than they begin the acquisition of the language of Demosthenes, by being introduced to the Hebraisms of the New Testament. But precedent cannot sanctify error, nor supersede the authority of facts, and there is no reason to expect, that a mistaken course of education, which is bad enough in itself, will ever communicate the purity of Athens to the written or spoken speech of Gallilee. But while we insist on the affinity of the Greek of the New Testament to the Hebrew, it must not be concluded, that the New Testament presents from beginning to end an unbroken similarity of style. When the interpreter is in possession of the general nature and the prevalent characteristics of the Hellenistic, he must go a step further, and inquire into the distinctive traits of the individual writers; for as there is something peculiar in every man's mind, and something different we may say too in every man's education, so there will be a difference of style. The gospel of St Matthew has harsher Hebraisms than that of St Mark, and the apocalypse than either. St Luke is not always consistent with himself, sometimes writing with much purity, and sometimes not; and Paul, though sufficiently Hebraistic in his style, differs especially in respect to the fulness and roundness of his sentences from all the others. We observe also, that the poetry of the Old Testament, as well as the prose, comes in for its share of influence on the style of the New,

for, by the professed interpreter, if by no others, it ought to be kept in mind, that no little portion of the New Testament is poetry. It bears at least all the characteristic marks of the poetry of the Old Testament, if we except the versification, or, if it be preferred, the parallelisms. Among the specimens of poetry in the New Testament are to be reckoned the thanksgiving song of Mary in the second chapter of Luke, also the song of Zachariah, the father of John the baptist, in the same chapter, the Savior's description of the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, nearly the whole of the apocalypse, and many other scattered fragments. The parallelism occurs very frequently in the epistles.

The foregoing considerations will, we trust, convince our readers that a judicious work on the interpretation of the New Testament was a great *desideratum*. The history of interpretation furnishes other arguments not less satisfactory. The work of Ernesti before us, in some respects indeed imperfect, for it was never intended to embrace the subject in the full extent of all its parts, is one of the most useful with which we are acquainted; and those students of theology, to whom the Latin is not familiar, of which we trust the number is very small, will be under especial obligations to professor Stuart for his labors. Whoever wishes to pursue the subject further than it is pushed by Ernesti, or the translator in his notes, will find, we apprehend, his fullest desires satisfied, by an examination of the commentary of Morus.

While we are pleased to see this work on the interpretation of the *New Testament*, we lament that there is no other of equal merit on the *Old Testament*, neither in our own, nor, that we are aware of, in any other tongue. The work of Meyer is mentioned with high commendation by Rosenmüller; but there is yet wanting on the Old Testament a work like those of Ernesti and Morus on the New, concise, learned, full of weighty and rational thought. To this moreover might be added, with great advantage, a history of interpretation from the earliest ages down to the present time; and we hope that the translator of the treatise before us will not forget the pledge which he has partially given, to supply this chasm in our sacred literature.

ART. XXV.—1. *Transactions of the Society, instituted at London, for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. Vol. xxxviii.* London, 1821.

2. *Transactions of the Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts in the State of New-York. Vol. iv, part ii.* Albany. Websters & Skinners. 1819. 8vo.

WE have placed at the head of this article the last volume of the transactions of two very respectable societies, instituted for the object of promoting the useful arts. The English society, for this purpose, is one of the most ancient associations of Great Britain; and besides the numerous premiums which it distributes for discoveries, it publishes yearly a volume of transactions. The volume published by the New-York society is certainly not inferior to the foreign work, in the amount of useful matter which it contains, and is calculated for wider circulation by the absence of costly engravings. The publication of the collections of such societies is one of the most efficient means of promoting the object of their institution. As books, however, of this kind are uninteresting to general readers, instead of giving an analysis of their contents, we shall devote this article to the purpose of laying before our readers some account of the rapid improvements of the useful arts, and of the great number of mechanical inventions which have been made within the last fifty or sixty years. So numerous have these improvements been, that a total reform has been produced in the practice of most of these arts, and the common comforts and conveniences peculiar to civilized life are now for the most part supplied to us, by the action of the elements, rather than by the toil of man.

It is true that some of our most useful machines are of early origin. But these are generally of simple construction, and such as would naturally result from a very few easy experiments. Some contrivance having a nether and upper stone, and which answered the purpose of a corn-mill, was known in the time of Moses; but neither the action of water nor wind was applied as a moving force until the time of Cæsar. It was not until the twelfth, and, according to other writers, the sixteenth century, that water or wind-mills were known in Europe, north of the Alps. Even the common spinning-wheel is quite a modern invention; and the art of knitting was un-

known in England before the reign of Henry VIII. But most of those wonderful pieces of mechanism, which surpass even the experienced hand, in the delicacy of their operations and excellence of their products, are of very recent invention.

No longer ago than the middle of the eighteenth century, there was hardly a species of manufacture which did not depend principally on manual labor for the performance of most of its operations. Cloths of every description were made almost wholly by human force. The fibre was taken from the animal or plant by hand, and the tedious operations of carding, spinning, weaving, and shearing were all performed by hand. The finer kinds of chain or mesh-work were made without any machinery. Coining was divided into many laborious operations. Rolling and slitting mills, although known, were hardly used, from the imperfection of the machinery by which they were driven. Nails were drawn out under the hand-hammer. The art of pottery, in Europe at least, furnished no wares, which, in their texture or ornaments, exhibited either strength or beauty, but at prices which would now be considered enormous. The quadrant, it is true, was invented before the period above alluded to, but practical mechanics had furnished no machine for dividing its arc, so that great skill and much time were required to arrive at any tolerable approximation to accuracy in this part of the instrument. The necessary consequence was, that the cost of a good instrument placed it beyond the reach of the common mariner, whose life was constantly depending on observations made with it.

It has been the fate of practical mechanics, until within a few years, to be considered beneath the attention of those men who were best qualified to improve them. It is true that mathematicians have now and then demonstrated some truth, or given a useful formula to guide the engineer, yet the advantages, which the arts have received from this source, have not been so considerable as is generally supposed. Rather than abstract mathematical learning, the useful arts have required actual experiments directed by acute and well ordered minds. They have wanted the presence of the philosopher, in the manufactory itself, to supply them with machinery, and direct the labors of the workmen.

It is even not unlikely that general knowledge may have deterred its possessors from attempting mechanical inventions, inasmuch as it made them not only acquainted with the diffi-

culties and perplexities to be encountered, but with the small chance of reward awaiting such pursuits. To undertake the production of a considerable machine requires a degree of ardor and enthusiasm rarely found united with much science, or indeed experience; for the history of invention presents us at every page with instances of years of drudgery, ending in the ruin of the adventurer. Unacquainted with what has been done by those who have gone before him, he often goes on making experiments, which have before been found to give no advantageous results; or new methods are tried, and new devices wrought upon, until, with his patience exhausted and his substance consumed, he abandons his designs forever. In those instances, which have been attended with success, it has not been until after years have been passed in anxious labor, and great sums of money been expended. So true is it, that a machine is never the result of a chance hit or a lucky thought. There were expended on Arkwright's cotton machinery twenty thousand pounds, before any return was made by it. The nail machinery in the United States was not perfected under ten years, nor at a less expense than one hundred thousand dollars. One individual in England has expended three thousand pounds merely for letters patent to secure the property of his inventions in the manufacture of lace. But this is not all; the completion of a machine is often far from terminating the labors and difficulties of its inventor. On the contrary, it seldom happens that his invention is not pirated. This opens to him fourteen years of disaster in the law, when his monopoly expires, and he is left with his reputation as the only reward of his labors. Yet here and there a great fortune has been acquired, which has drawn on crowds to these pursuits, who have possessed none of the gifts necessary to command success, except enthusiasm and confidence. But discouraging as the circumstances may seem; if the instances have been rare of men of extensive learning laboring in practical mechanics, yet of late years such numbers of judicious as well as ingenious men have been allured, either by a true admiration of the subject, or, as has often no doubt been the case, the hope of reward, that the lights of improvement have been carried into the darkest recesses of the arts, and machines have been contrived no less useful in their products than astonishing in their operations.

The last half of the eighteenth century has been marked by

the great improvements of Mr Watt in the steam-engine; an invention which, if it had only enabled the English to keep possession of their mines, would have been of incalculable advantage. But when we see it driving every species of machinery in the vast establishments of England, and its power propelling vessels through the course of every river and bay in our own country, we cannot but exult at the superiority of this age over those which have preceded it.

Mr Watt's improvements are so generally known, as hardly to need a recapitulation. They consist in condensing the steam in a vessel apart from the cylinder, or steam-vessel, as he calls it, the temperature of which could therefore always be kept above the boiling point; in driving the piston both ways through the cylinder with steam, by which the engine could be carried to a force beyond the weight of the atmosphere, to which it was before limited; in surrounding the cylinder with wood or some slow conductor of heat; and in the invention of the sun and planet wheels, by which the reciprocating motion of the engine was converted into a rotatory one, for the more convenient application of it to various machinery.

Since these early inventions of Mr Watt, several curious improvements have been made, as the laws of the expansive force of steam have become better understood. As these may not be generally known to our readers, the high pressure engine being very much used in this country, we shall be excused for giving an account of one or two of them. The first began with Mr Watt himself. This gentleman had discovered, in the course of his experiments, that steam, which possesses an expansive force but very little superior to the pressure of the atmosphere, when suffered to enlarge itself to several times its former volume still possesses an expansive force equal to that pressure; or, in more general terms, that the force of steam does not diminish in the same ratio that its volume increases. From this fact, Mr Watt drew the conclusion, that there will be a great economy in using steam of a high temperature at a low pressure; and to apply this principle, he constructed his engine, so that the communication between the boiler and steam-vessel or cylinder should be cut off, after the piston had passed but part way through the cylinder, and the stroke of the piston be completed simply by the expansion of the steam. Mr Hornblower soon after constructed an engine with two cylinders of different sizes, which he suppos-

ed better adapted to take advantage of the above law. But this being at the time that Mr Watt possessed the monopoly of the condenser and some other parts of the steam-engine, which were indispensable to carry Mr Hornblower's invention into effect, he was never able to put it to the test of fair experiment. Subsequently Mr Arthur Woolf, who has pursued his inquiries into this subject with considerable success, has constructed an engine with two cylinders, which seems to embrace all the laws of the expansive force of steam, in the most complete manner. The large cylinder has no direct communication with the boiler, while the small cylinder communicates both with the large cylinder and the boiler. The steam of an high temperature is as it were measured off by the small cylinder into the large. The piston of the small cylinder is driven with a force which *effectively* is constantly increasing. While the large piston being driven by a quantity of steam, which enlarges itself during the stroke from the volume of the small to equal the volume of the large cylinder, is constantly diminishing in force. Thus the two piston-rods, being fixed to the same end of the lever-beam, regulate each other, and drive the beam with a force nearly constant through the whole stroke. Hornblower's engine effected this equalization of the force very well, while in Mr Watt's no provision is made for it. His engine having but one steam cylinder, the stroke is given with a constantly diminishing force.

The high pressure engine, as it is called, is a great favorite with our adventurous countrymen. Mr Oliver Evans, well known for his numerous improvements in flour-mills, constructed a great many engines of this kind, and it was principally through his influence that they became so generally used. Indeed Mr Evans says, that the discovery of a curious fact in regard to steam, of which we have not yet spoken, and from which these engines derive their great power, was made by himself more than forty years ago. This fact, as he states it, is, that an increase in the heat of the water, by arithmetical progression, will increase the elasticity and power of the steam by a geometrical progression. This statement, however, is not exactly true, if we consider the degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, as marking equal increments of temperature. For although the addition of equal portions of heat, as measured by this thermometer, augments the expansive force of steam in quantities constantly increasing as the mercury ascends the scale, yet this augmentation

does not hold that exact relation, to the increase of temperature, which the expression of Mr Evans would seem to imply. Thus, the addition of $15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of heat to steam of the temperature of 212°, increases its expansive force five pounds per square inch. But the addition of $15\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ of heat to steam, already at the temperature of 259°, increases its expansive force upwards of twelve pounds on the same area. Mr Dalton, however, is of opinion, that Fahrenheit's thermometer does not measure equal increments of heat; but, on the contrary, that the expansion of mercury is as the square of the temperature, and that the force of all elastic fluids increases in geometrical progression, if the temperature be increased by equal increments. On the assumption of this fact, he constructed his thermometer. This agrees perfectly with Mr Evans' opinion, and is clearly supported by general analogy, though it does not seem to admit of more absolute proof. The fact, however, that steam of a high temperature increases in force much faster than that of a low temperature, on the addition of an equal quantity of heat, as measured by any thermometer, or even by the consumption of fuel, is sufficient to render the use of high steam much more economical than that of low, could it be equally well condensed. But this is not in practice so easily performed. On account of this, the condensation is wholly omitted in the high pressure engine; which, therefore, is unprovided with the condensing apparatus. This is the only material respect in which it differs from the low pressure engines. The steam, therefore, is freely let off to the atmosphere after the stroke of the piston is completed, and however great the pressure may have been, it will be immediately perceived, that after this communication is open, it cannot resist the return of the piston in a degree above the weight of the atmosphere, and when steam of the force of fifty or sixty pounds per inch is used, more than an equivalent for the amount of loss from the piston acting against a resistance equal to the pressure of the atmosphere, is obtained from the small quantity of heat required to render steam, which already exerts a force of twenty or thirty pounds per inch, capable of exercising a force of the above magnitude. The high pressure engine is cheaper and more compact than any other. This last fact would render it peculiarly advantageous for the purposes of navigation, were it equally safe. But in this important particular it is very questionable, whether it will bear a comparison with other en-

gines. Not that its boiler cannot be rendered so strong, that its bursting shall be as rare as that of any other, but because its very strength renders the consequences more terrible, when unfortunately it does burst. And as it will sometimes happen, that steam-engines will be intrusted to the management of careless or ignorant people, we cannot hope entirely to prevent the recurrence of that accident; and we believe that the only way to lessen the amount of destruction is to use engines, the boilers of which may burst without doing great injury. This circumstance, important in every case, is particularly so in steam passage-boats, where a great number of persons are constantly exposed; persons, too, who have a right to expect that every precaution will be taken to insure their safety.

There is in the steam engine a loss of power in changing the direction of its action from rectilinear to rotatory, by the methods in common practice, not very satisfactorily accounted for, considering the magnitude of the loss, which on an average amounts to about three fourths of the whole power, as appears from the reports on the performance of the engines used at the mines in Cornwall. This, together with the hope of producing a more simple machine, has given rise to very frequent attempts to apply the action of the steam directly to a wheel, and by that means obtain a circular motion primarily. Mr Watt, whose comprehensive mind seems early to have embraced the whole subject of the mechanical application of steam, made several contrivances for this purpose. One of them is described in his specification of 1769. But none of his plans to effect this object succeeding, he abandoned them all. And no engine has been adopted to any extent, in which the force of steam is not applied in the first instance to produce motion in the direction of the axis of a cylinder.

It is probable that the production of the steam engine had some influence in exciting engineers to the inventing and improving of the machinery necessary to its application to the arts. We do not know, however, of a single machine, the invention of which can be traced directly to this cause; and it is worthy of remark, considering the widely extended and diversified use of the steam engine at this day, that all who were early concerned in improving it, from the Marquis of Worcester down even to Mr Watt, seem to have had principally in view the raising of the water from the mines; although some of them foresaw that advantage might be taken of a power so admirable in some part of the wide range of practical mechanics.

While the steam engine was yet in its infancy, indeed, before the separate condenser was used, the machinery for manufacturing cotton was getting into notice, which, perhaps, as far as mere ingenuity is concerned, exceeds the steam engine itself. Richard Hargreaves, a weaver of Lancashire, invented the spinning machine, called the jenny, in 1767. He is also said to have been the inventor of stock cards, which reduced the labor of carding fifty per cent. Later improvements having superseded these inventions of Hargreaves, his name has fallen into unmerited oblivion. He died in poverty in Nottingham, whither he was obliged to remove to avoid the popular fury of Lancashire; for it has not been until very lately that the laboring manufacturers have willingly permitted any innovation in the ancient modes of practice in the arts. Their mistaken views and narrow prejudices have constantly proscribed attempts at saving labor; and even at the present time, this spirit is not wholly extinct. Sir Richard Arkwright, who followed Hargreaves in improving the cotton machinery, was destined to a better fortune. From a poor barber, he raised himself to opulence and the rank of knighthood. Abandoning his occupation in 1767, he left Preston, his native town, and went to Warrington, where he made a mechanical contrivance for perpetual motion. We mention this merely to show how ignorant he must have been of the science of mechanics. Mr John Kay, however, of that town, suggested to him the more hopeful project of making a machine for spinning cotton. Mr Kay, it seems, had himself invented a machine for that purpose, which he described to Arkwright. With the assistance of Kay, Arkwright completed his machine so as to take out a patent in 1769. The merit of Arkwright's invention, and that which distinguishes it from all others, is the drawing the sliver of cotton by rollers, which are found a complete substitute for the human fingers. Arkwright did not stop here, but devoted the rest of his life to improving the machinery and reducing the various processes of the manufacture to order and system. He not only made improvements in the carding, but the vigor of his genius manifested itself in every stage of preparing the cotton for the loom. His first machinery driven by water was erected at Cromford in Derbyshire in 1771.

In 1779, Mr Crompton completed the machine called the mule, which partakes of the principles of both Hargreaves and

Arkwright's machines, from which circumstance it is said to have derived its name. The mule is superior to any other machine for spinning certain kinds of yarn. Cotton may be drawn out by it to an almost incredible fineness. It is said that one pound has been made into a thread one hundred and sixty seven miles in length; which, to place the fact in a stronger light, is one hundred and thirty feet to each grain weight.

Such is a brief outline of the commencement and early progress of this extensive and useful branch of industry. Many and great improvements have been made in it, in almost all the stages of the manufacture, since the death of sir Richard Arkwright. Indeed, it is but a few years since the very important machine, known by the name of the *double speeder*, was perfected. Power looms are also quite recent. But to the praise of Arkwright, we may remark, that all the ingenuity that has succeeded him, has been unable to make any important improvement on his water spinning frame. The machinery for manufacturing cotton is at this time unquestionably more perfect, than that used in any other manufacture. Cotton stuffs are now sold at such prices, and this is the best test of the facility with which they are manufactured, that with a numerous class in all countries, they have supplanted the use of linens and silks. The quantity of linen cloth made in Ireland has remained about stationary for several years past, although the countries which supply themselves with linens of Irish manufacture, have greatly increased in population. And every body knows the misery which the depression of the silk trade, a few years since, brought upon thousands in England.

We cannot leave this subject without noticing the invention of the *saw gin*, by a native of Massachusetts, a machine for clearing the fibres of cotton from the seeds. We do this, not merely because it is an American invention, but because the world has not produced a machine, which increases in so great a degree the product of the labor of the workman. It is stated by the inventor, that each person employed with the machine is equal to one thousand persons working with the hands merely; and we do not know that this comparison is to be considered materially erroneous. To show the great influence which it has had on the agriculture of a large district of our country, we shall make an extract or two from a charge to a

jury of Georgia, by judge Johnson. 'The cotton plant furnished clothing to mankind before the age of Herodotus. The green seed is a species much more productive than the black, and by nature adapted to a much greater variety of climate; but by reason of the strong adherence of the fibre to the seed, without the aid of some more powerful machine for separating it than any formerly known among us, the cultivation of it could never have been made an object. The machine, of which Mr Whitney claims the invention, so facilitates the preparation of this species for use, that the cultivation of it has suddenly become an object of infinitely greater importance than that of the other species ever can be.

'With regard to the utility of this discovery, the court would deem it a waste of time to dwell long upon this topic. Is there a man who hears us, who has not experienced its utility? The whole interior of the southern states was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention and employ their industry, when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them, which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age, it has presented us a lucrative employment. Individuals, who were depressed in poverty and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability. Our debts have been paid off; our capitals increased; and our lands are trebled in value. We cannot express the weight of obligation, which the country owes to this invention. The extent of it cannot now be seen. Some faint presentiment may be formed from the reflection, that cotton is rapidly supplanting wool, flax, silk, and even furs in manufactures, and may one day profitably supply the use of specie in our East India trade. Our sister states also participate in the benefits of this invention; for, besides affording the raw materials for their manufactories, the bulkiness and quality of the article afford a valuable employment for their shipping.'

The success, which attended the establishment of the cotton machinery, directed the attention of ingenious men to attempt the somewhat similar manufacture of woollen fabrics by machinery driven by power, and although the triumph has not been so complete as that which attended the cotton manufacture, yet the saving of labor has been of a greater extent than the most visionary projector could have dreamed of fifty years ago. The jenny and carding machine were transferred with little alteration

from the cotton to the woollen fabrics. By the first of these machines, one person is enabled to spin about as much as fifty persons could by the old method, and it should be remembered, that this process cost more labor, than any other in the manufacture of cloth. The invention of shearing machinery soon followed that of the jenny, and was attended with great, though not equal advantages.

The manufacture of hemp and flax, by machinery moved without human aid, to such a degree as is required in the ordinary methods, attracted a great share of the public attention as early as the cotton machinery was established. Ingenuity has been on the rack ever since to accomplish an object of such magnitude. So much has this been thought of by rulers, as well as private individuals, that the emperor Napoleon, by a decree in 1810, offered the munificent reward of one million of franks to the inventor, of whatever nation he might be, who should produce the best machine for spinning flax. Competitors for the prize arose in almost every civilized nation, and many most ingenious machines were constructed. But we believe no one possessed advantages decidedly superior to all others, and unless we have been misinformed on the subject, no machine was rewarded. The length of the fibres of flax, which constitute one of its excellencies as a material for thread, presents difficulties in the way of spinning it by machinery, which are unknown in the use of cotton and wool. It cannot be prepared by carding, as these other substances are, and the rollers are capable of drawing it but very imperfectly, although, as we have before remarked, they even surpass the human fingers in drawing out cotton. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties in the production of an even thread, there are machines in operation in this country, as well as Great Britain and France, which spin some coarse kinds of thread tolerably well, and with great rapidity. The machines are, however, too imperfect to spin the fine threads, and in Ireland, where the labor of women is very cheap, they have not much disturbed the ancient course of manufacture.

The improvements in manufacturing the metals, particularly iron, have been very great, since the date of the steam engine. England, possessed of abundance of the necessary materials for this manufacture, has brought the art of making iron castings to great perfection; and it gives us pleasure to notice, that this branch of art has been much improved in the United

States within a few years. Twenty years ago, our iron furnaces produced no castings, which united the properties of strength and solidity, with such softness as to enable the workmen to give them any kind of finish. The many serious accidents which happened during the last war by the bursting of our cannon, must be fresh in the minds of most of our readers. These imperfections were not to be attributed to the quality of our ore, but wholly to the want of skill in working it. The importance of this art to every other, where any kind of machinery is used, is seldom sufficiently appreciated. We believe that the reason why the machinery of this country does not operate in general so well as that of England, though of the same construction, is to be found principally in the imperfection of our castings, which obliges us often to substitute wood for iron, and that too, in many cases where great strength and the power of preserving their figure unchanged, are highly essential. In the history of the improvements of the arts, as in every thing else, the chain of cause and effect is often too fine to be distinctly visible, but we think that every one, after a moment's consideration of the subject, will agree with us, that improvement in the workmanship of machinery tends directly and powerfully to the successful exercise of mechanical invention.

It has been principally in the heavier and rougher kinds of iron work, that improvements have lately been made. The arts of making fine cutlery and watches, although considerably improved of late years, have advanced by no means so rapidly as they did for some time before. Improvements in these arts were the result of the division of labor, which was carried to great minuteness an hundred years ago, and the advantages which resulted from it in the manufacture of many fine steel instruments and watches, were astonishing. According to Adam Smith, a better watch could be purchased in his time for twenty shillings, than could have been bought about the middle of the seventeenth century for twenty pounds.

But the introduction of the steam engine into the manufacture of heavy iron wares, has been of great advantage. And we ought to notice also the invention of the machine for making nails. We have before alluded to the cost and labor of this invention. Few machines are now, however, more perfect in their operations, or have been more successful in their way. This machine originated from a practice, which

began about thirty years ago, of cutting off slivers from iron hoops, with a pair of common shears, and heading them in a smith's vice, to be used in building instead of nails. From such rude beginnings has grown up the present nail machine, which is capable of producing two hundred and sixty complete nails in one minute.

But as any enumeration of modern improvements in the arts, which we can make, must necessarily be imperfect, if not tedious to our readers, we shall pursue the subject in this way no farther. We may observe, however, that a principal cause of the great saving of labor, from the use of machines generally, is, that their moving force is derived from some physical action of inorganic matter, or from the strength of some brute animal. In fact, many of the most useful machines are no more than the means by which a single motion, as that of water or steam, acting in one direction and with one velocity, is divided and modified into many motions acting in different directions, and with various velocities, but having such relations to each other that the instruments which they put in motion shall perform those operations necessary to produce a nail, a thread, a card, a piece of lace, or whatever else may be the subject of manufacture. These facts make it very desirable to know, which of the several powers or forces offers to the manufacturer the greatest advantage. But on this subject no estimate of universal application has been or can be made. The character of the force must be such as shall suit the kind of manufacture to which it is to be applied. Otherwise, although it be in cost cheaper, it may be less economical. Thus the force of wind may be obtained in great quantities at a small expense; but as it sometimes wholly remits its action, it would be far from prudent to employ it, where a number of workmen could labor only when a supply of such a force could be obtained. The numerous waterfalls in New-England have long furnished almost the only force employed for driving our machinery. In many cases this force is sufficiently constant, and being cheaper than steam, it is to be preferred to it. But waterfalls are rarely to be found in large towns, and often not in their immediate vicinity, places where many kinds of manufacture are most advantageously carried on; whilst one of the great excellencies of the steam-engine is, that its force may be obtained at all times, in all places, and in any quantity. It is an important fact, however, in the economy of steam, that a

certain measure of power is obtained considerably cheaper from a large than from a small engine; so that for a power merely equal to one or two horses, it is probably as cheap to use the animal as the steam engine. The high price of fuel in our large towns renders this power much more expensive to us than it is in places where coals are plenty. But, notwithstanding this, in engines of an ordinary size, from pretty good information on the subject we can state, that the cost of a given quantity of power will be to that of the same quantity obtained from horses, about as one to four, if the engine be kept in constant operation, and about as two to five if worked only twelve hours per day: an advantage sufficiently marked to determine a preference, even where all the other circumstances are equal; and they can hardly be unfavorable to the use of steam, from any thing in the character of that power.

The actual value of modern improvements in the useful arts can only be estimated by the number of persons, which they have in effect given to agriculture and other useful employments, by abundantly supplying all our wants of useful manufactures with fewer artisans than would otherwise have been required. The record of facts necessary to make an estimate on this subject is extremely scanty, particularly in our own country. The reports of the marshals, in the year 1810, furnished materials for two or three works, which contain some account of our manufactures. Of these, Mr Coxe's 'statement of the arts and manufactures of the United States of America' is the most valuable. But the materials from which this work was composed were manifestly imperfect, for the period when they were collected; and such has been the rapid growth of our manufactures since that time, that we are not to depend now upon a valuation made twelve years since. The reports of the marshals, for the year 1820, have not yet found their way to the public, no digest having been made from them. We have been unable to obtain a copy of the original reports. The inquiries, however, instituted by the parliament of England, into the trade and manufactures of that kingdom, have been the means of furnishing to the public considerable information of the value of the machinery of Great Britain, which we shall proceed to notice.

By an examination made by the house of commons in 1800, it appeared that woollen goods were annually manufactured to the amount of £19,800,000. The number of persons directly

employed was stated by Mr Law, afterwards lord Ellenborough, to be 1,500,000; an equal number receiving employment indirectly in consequence of being engaged in some collateral branch of trade. These numbers, however, have been proved much too high. At the same time, it was admitted by the manufacturers, that by the improvements in their machinery thirty-five persons could produce a quantity of cloth, which would have employed sixteen hundred and thirty-four persons an equal period of time, with the machinery used in 1785, which is increasing the product of labor about forty-six fold. But that this estimate of the value of the machinery of 1800 is materially erroneous, is sufficiently proved by the fact, that in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where the manufacture has advanced as rapidly as it has in any part of the kingdom, the quantity of cloth manufactured in 1770 was to the quantity manufactured in 1817, about as one to three by measure, the quantity having advanced through the intermediate years pretty steadily. It may be estimated also, that the quality has been improved in an equal ratio. Now, if we suppose the number of workmen to have continued the same, and we do not think the variation on this head to have been large, we shall have the product of their labor increased about nine fold. Taking then the whole number of individuals employed in the trade to be 800,000, the product of their labor is equal to that of 7,200,000, with the machinery of 1770; or the present woollen machinery of England is equal in value to the industry of 6,400,000 people; an industry, too, it must be remembered, which furnishes to the country its product, without asking food or clothing in return. However enormous this source of wealth may seem to those, who have not been in the habit of making themselves acquainted with the subject, it is yet of small consequence when compared with the product of the cotton trade.

As might be expected, there is great want of uniformity of opinion among the few who have undertaken to state the saving of labor by the use of cotton machinery. The manufacturers themselves have not a very accurate knowledge of the comparative effect of equal quantities of labor, aided in the one case with machinery, and in the other applying itself without that advantage, because the cotton manufacture itself has grown up altogether with the machinery, having been almost unknown in Europe before the invention of the jenny. We

believe that generally the value of improvements are overrated in public accounts; and it does not appear that the cotton machinery forms an exception to this rule. Some writers have stated it to increase the product of labor two hundred fold. But there is hardly a process of the manufacture which warrants so high an estimate, and it must be remembered that some operations require now the same labor that they did in the infancy of the manufacture. On the whole, we think that one person may be considered now as equal in effect to fifty, employing the implements common sixty years ago; and if we take the whole number of people employed in Great Britain in this branch of industry at 650,000, we must consider the cotton machinery of that country as equalling in value the labor of 31,850,000 people. All the other machinery of Great Britain, invented within the last sixty years, except the steam-engine, which supplying a moving force to other machines, of itself produces nothing, does not probably approach the value of the cotton machinery alone.

We are not able to satisfy ourselves of the value of the machinery of the United States, in any great branch of industry, from the defects to which we have before alluded, in the only authentic source of information. The wool of the United States is estimated by Mr Coxe, for the year 1812, at from twenty to twenty-two millions of pounds, and it is generally stated that about one hundred millions of pounds of the same article are annually manufactured in England. This would give the woollen machinery of the United States equal to the labor of one million two hundred and eighty thousand people, if the manufacture were practised by the same method here that it is in England. But as the domestic mode prevails in this country to a greater comparative degree, no valuation formed in this way is worthy of much confidence.

But, however imposing this array of the manufacturing power of England may appear to us, we must remember that it is by no means to be taken into the account, in comparing the political importance of the two nations. The labor saved by mechanical improvements is for the common benefit of the world at large. It is impossible for any nation to derive great and exclusive advantage, even from their own inventions, for any considerable period. An almost immediate effect of improvements, in any branch of manufacture, is to reduce the price of the article manufactured. This always has followed,

and always will follow, from the competition of different individuals in the same trade. Thus the competition of the English manufacturers reduced the price of fine cotton yarn, in the course of twenty years, from thirty-five shillings and sixpence to four and fourpence halfpenny a pound; a reduction of from about eight to one on the whole cost; which, it will be perceived, must be much more on the labor of spinning alone. And such are the facilities which modern commerce gives to exchanges, that countries foreign to that where the improvements may first have been introduced, soon participate almost equally in the advantages of any great mechanical invention. So true is this, that we can now hardly find a people so remote, or a race so barbarous, that they have not obtained the blankets, and knives, the fire-arms and trinkets of civilized nations, in exchange for the skins and teeth of their animals, or the gold and precious stones of their rivers and mines.

There will be a time, to be sure, immediately after any great improvement, and before any extensive competition grows up, during which the nation, where the improvement is produced, will derive something like an exclusive advantage from it. The very commercial facilities, which we have above alluded to, will enable her to destroy the manufacture of the article which is the subject of improvement in other countries, by supplying them cheaper than they can manufacture for themselves, and still give a most advantageous employment to her own people engaged in the trade. But, indeed, if a nation so circumstanced could, by any laws or regulations, keep up the price of the article at home, it could avail them nothing. Foreign nations would the sooner obtain possession of the invention, and manufacture for themselves; and this they always will do, sooner or later, unless the inventing nation have some peculiarity in their circumstances, which enables them to carry on the manufacture to greater advantage than any other people.

The rival claims of England and France to superiority in mechanical invention, are urged with no little vehemence by both those nations. No new manufacture is established in France, but French patriotism is called upon to pay the easy tax of a belief that the invention originated in French genius, and was perfected by French skill and enterprize; while the English sweepingly declare, ‘ our inventions and discoveries are more numerous and solid than those of any other people. What may not have been original to us, we have seldom failed

to improve as soon as it has passed into our hands; and we have applied to useful practical purposes more than all the rest of the world are vain of having had a glimpse of.' If this was expressed, as it was probably directed, against the French alone, it might be considered, although somewhat overcharged, as true in the main. The French have not in their character those qualities, which are necessary to superiority in the merely useful arts, which embrace the manufacture of those articles that contribute to simple comfort and convenience. In comparing them with the English, any one who has had the opportunity of seeing them in their respective countries, must have been struck with the fact, that while the English aim to produce good and plain articles in large quantity, the French constantly strive to bring forward something curious and showy. So deeply is the love of display engrained in the French constitution, that the factory itself is sometimes arranged with a view to produce a fine *spectacle*. Thus the steam-engine is put up in a shop window with its flies and its levers polished *comme un miroir*, to attract the admiration of the crowd.

But we Americans think, that we can maintain the claim to equality, at least, with the English. We know that an opinion is generally prevalent among us, that we are decidedly superior to them in mechanical invention. We are sorry to remark, that this is sometimes asserted with a vaporing air, which is ill calculated to produce conviction abroad, and which it would not at all injure us to correct. As this subject is now before us, we may briefly examine some of the facts, on which alone the preeminence can be allowed to either country.

The English are the undoubted inventors of the steam engine. The Americans first successfully applied it to propelling vessels. The English invented the cotton spinning machinery. The Americans the cotton gin. The carding machine, the lace machine, the coining machinery, the threshing machine, the hydrostatic press, are all English inventions. While the Americans have produced the card machine, the nail machine, the machine for splitting leather, the improvements in flour-mills, and the machinery which immortalizes the work of the engraver. These are all the decidedly important machines, which now occur to our minds, which can be specifically stated, and which clearly belong exclusively to either nation, although a great deal more of excellent machinery has been invented, in each country, since the period of American independence.

Improvements on almost all the old inventions for whatever purpose, have been made since that time, and many original machines of minor importance have been contrived. But we believe that we have enumerated the most important body of distinct machines, clearly the property of one country or the other. We have not mentioned the block machinery, which the English claim, because, although it was invented in England, its inventor, Mr Brunel, was born in France, and lived some time in America. It should be noticed also, that the steam engine, although improved since our independence, was very near its present state of perfection before that time. Among American inventions worthy of notice, we cannot, however, forbear to specify a beautiful machine lately constructed by Mr Blanchard, for fashioning irregular figures of wood. It is capable of producing an exact *fac simile* of almost any figure of common size, and is already in use for making shoemakers' lasts and gun stocks. An extensive application of it to other purposes may be expected.

The circumstances of the English have, on the whole, been most favorable to produce machinery. They had forty years ago the most mechanical knowledge, and they still have the most capital, and a greater number of people occupied in machinery. These are certainly more than an equivalent for the higher price of labor in this country, which is perhaps the most considerable incentive to invention with us. Still we believe that our improvements have been as ingenious as theirs, and have required as much persevering industry to carry them into effect; and that we are, at least, not inferior to any nation in those qualities necessary to advance the useful arts.

It does not appear that Germany and Holland have maintained the rank, to which their former inventions, particularly the art of printing, and the application of the pendulum to timekeepers, had raised them. It has been perhaps rather from a want of enterprise than of mechanical skill, that the great inventions of the age have not been brought into more general use in Germany. The government of Russia has extended a liberal patronage to the introduction of arts and machines from foreign countries; and as civilization advances, they must necessarily be adopted throughout that vast empire.

ART. XXVI.—*Message from the President of the United States, transmitting, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Representatives of the 30th January last, communications from the Agents of the United States with the Governments south of the United States, which have declared their independence, and the communications from the Agents of such Governments, in the United States, with the Secretary of State, as tend to show the political condition of their Governments, and the state of the war between them and Spain.* March 8, 1822.

THE late recommendation to congress to recognize the independence of those portions of South America, which have thrown off the colonial yoke, and the unanimous report of the committee of foreign relations, in the house of representatives, in favor of such a measure, will furnish the justification of the present article. It is no part of our purpose to discuss the political expediency of the measure; partly as the public mind, we apprehend, is in a good measure made up on the point, and still more as this subject will meet a singular fortune, if it be not discussed, at least to the true extent of its merits, in another quarter. We have too much conscience to add another to the harangues, which will be drawn forth from the public spirited gentlemen, who think it their duty to favor congress with their speculations on all subjects, and at the same length, and who, sometimes with a garrulous familiarity, do not scruple to force on congress the details of their private feelings and personal concerns, as the same may happen to be excited or affected, by public measures. Leaving, therefore, the discussion of the political question to the gentlemen so heartily disposed to engage in it, and granting that this is a subject more worthy of grave and deliberate discussion, than almost any which could come before congress, we shall proceed to lay before our readers a few statistical and economical statements, which may assist them in forming an opinion of its practical importance.

We shall suppose our readers to be acquainted with the general train of events in South America, and the general result of a long series of struggles and revolutions, of which the various details, as they have from time to time appeared in our newspapers, have, singly taken, been too obscure and insignificant to arrest general notice, though the impression left by the whole on the minds of the American public has, we think,

been unfavorable to the discretion with which the revolutionary movements in South America have been conducted. Had the mother countries been in a condition to oppose a prompt and well organized resistance, it is highly probable that the efforts to throw off the colonial yoke would have been wholly ineffectual; unless we suppose, indeed, what might also have well happened, that a more formidable manifestation of royal authority would have had the effect of producing greater concentration and energy in the republican counsels. Whatever may be thought of this, in the last two or three years great strides have been made toward effective independence. The fine provinces of Venezuela and New-Grenada having separately declared their independence, and pursued with various fortunes the war against the royal armies, are now united into one state, under the name of the Republic of *Colombia*, with one of the most distinguished of the South American chieftains, Bolivar, at its head. The fundamental act of their constitution adopted at Venezuela, December 17, 1819, is among the documents accompanying the message of the president, alluded to above. The Spanish armies are wholly excluded from the territory of Colombia, with the single exception of the garrisons of Porto Cabello and Panama. The provinces of *Buenos Ayres*, on whose politics we made some remarks in our number for April last, in connexion with our notice of the history of those provinces by Dean Funes, have had no obstacles in the way of their independence to contend with since 1810, save those, which have grown out of their own factions. They formally declared their independence in 1816; and the view presented in the letters of Mr Forbes to the secretary of state of the condition of this republic, under the judicious ministry of Mr Rivadavia, is more favorable than any thing which has been known of them, since the revolutionary contests began. *Chili* declared its independence in 1818, and has sustained itself against the feeble attempts of the royal power. The late destruction of the remnants of the royal force at Callao completes the independence of *Peru;* and the events which have transpired in *Mexico*, and of which curious details are contained in the documents accompanying the President's Message, seem to establish the independence also of that mighty region.

To assist our readers in pursuing the train of the discussions to which the measure proposed by the president may lead, we

propose to devote a few pages to some notices of the extent and importance of the Spanish possessions in South America; which, though they are to be found abundantly scattered in several works, particularly the invaluable one of Humboldt, and in a more condensed form in the work of Capt. Bonnycastle,* are less familiar perhaps than they ought to be to the American public.

According to the statement of Don Josef de Moraleda, examined in manuscript by M. de Humboldt, in the archives of the viceroy of Lima,† the southernmost point of the Spanish possessions in South America is the fort *Maullin*, near the small village of *Carelmapu*, upon the coast of Chili, opposite the northern extremity of the island of Chiloe. This point is in 41° 43′ south latitude. The northernmost point of the Spanish possessions is the mission of San Francisco on the coast of New California, seven leagues north-west of Santa Cruz, in the latitude of 37° 48′ north. The Spanish dominions, therefore, extended a distance of *seventy-nine degrees* of latitude; exceeding the dimensions of the British possessions in India, or even of the Russian empire, and giving to the Spanish language a use more extensive, than that which is possessed by any other national tongue. Throughout this whole extent, says Humboldt, 'under the wise administration of the count Florida Blanca, a regular post was established, for communication from the borders of Paraguay to the north-west coast of North America; so that a monk at the mission of the Guarani Indians might carry on a correspondence with a missionary of New Mexico, by a rout almost without interruption, through the continental possessions of Spain in America.' We shall better understand this vast extent of territory, by considering that, from the southern point of Florida to the northern boundary of the United States, are but about twenty-five degrees of latitude; not the third of the extent on the meridian of the Spanish dominions.

These vast dominions, under the Spanish administration, were divided into nine great governments, which might be considered as independent of each other. These governments

* Spanish America, or a descriptive, historical, and geographical account of the dominions of Spain, in the western hemisphere, continental and insular; by R. H. Bonnycastle, captain in the corps of royal engineers. Two vols. 8vo. London, 1818.

† See note A, at the close of the second volume of the Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne, constituting the third part of the great work of M. de Humboldt.

were four of them styled *vice royalties*, and five of them general captaincies *(capitanias generales.)* The vice royalties were those of Buenos Ayres, Peru, New Grenada, and Mexico, and the captaincies those of Chili, Guatimala, Porto Rico, Caraccas, and Havana. To the latter was attached the region of Florida, before it was ceded to the United States.

Of these several governments, that of Mexico is unquestionably the most important. When we consider, indeed, the wonderful natural features of the whole of Spanish America, the unequalled magnitude of the rivers, and the stupendous heights of the mountains, the variety of climates in this vast range of latitudes, and the richness of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, we shall perhaps think it but justice to assert the first rank among the countries of the earth for this region. Several circumstances, however, unite to render *New Spain* the most important of these governments; and it is therefore to this portion of them that the remainder of our remarks will be principally limited, not only on account of its superior importance, but because, from various local causes, this quarter is the least known to the North American public. The superior population, the number of great cities, and their proximity to each other, the vast amount of the precious metals, and their influence on the commerce of the world, together with the favorable position of its ports both for European and Asiatic trade, seem to confer on Mexico or New Spain the right to this preeminence.

The appellation of *New Spain*, in its full extent, is applied to the region subject to the viceroy of Mexico, and extending from the 38th° of north latitude to the 10th of south. In these limits, it would include the captaincy of *Guatimala*, which, however, in point of actual administration, is independent of the viceroy of Mexico, and for its fertility and population may be advantageously compared with the most valuable portions of Spanish America. The greatest dimensions of New Spain, exclusive of Guatimala, are in length about 1800 miles, and in breadth about 1100. The isthmus, which unites the two great portions of the American continent, is so extremely narrow, that the project of an artificial junction of the Atlantic and Pacific has often been seriously agitated. It is unfortunate that the narrowest portion of the isthmus is not in that region, which, on account of the ports of Acapulco and Vera Cruz, and the city of Mexico, is of most importance, in a

political and commercial view. In the geographical introduction to his work on New Spain, M. de Humboldt has enumerated *nine* different places where the waters which flow into the Atlantic, might possibly be connected with those which flow into the Pacific. For the northernmost of these, M. de Humboldt goes as far as the Ungijah, or Peace river, in 54° 37′ north latitude, and for the southernmost to a supposed communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans in Patagonia, seven degrees north of the straits of Magellan, which was the object of a Spanish expedition of discovery in 1790. The sixth of these points, viz. the small port and bay *Cupica* to the south-east of Panama, appears to be the spot most favorable, in the opinion of M. de Humboldt, to the project of a canal from ocean to ocean. From the bay of Cupica there is a passage of only fifteen or eighteen miles over a country quite level and suited to a canal, to the head of navigation of the river Naipi, which flows into the river Atrato, which in its turn empties into the Atlantic. M. de Humboldt gives to Gogueneche, a Biscayan pilot, the credit of having first turned the attention of the Spanish government to this point, which the same intelligent traveller says should be regarded as the Suez of America;—as being almost the only spot, where the chain of the Andes is completely interrupted, and a canal thus made practicable. When we cast our eyes on the gigantic communication between the Atlantic and the western lakes, so near being opened, by the unaided enterprize of one of our sister states, we may rejoice that this favorable point falls within the territorial limits of the republic of Colombia, which perhaps of all the revolutionary states of Spanish America, is that which has started in the career of independence, with the best auspices. Before passing from the subject of a communication between the oceans, we would observe, as a curious circumstance, that such a communication, to a very limited degree indeed, has already been opened by the art of man. It is the seventh of the points indicated by M. de Humboldt. ‘ In the interior of the province of Choco,’ says he, ‘ the little ravine *de la Raspadura* unites the neighboring sources of the *Rio de Noanama*, called also *Rio San Juan*, and of the little river of *Quito*. This last united to the Rio *Andageda* and the Rio *Zitara* forms the Rio d’ *Atrato*, which flows into the Atlantic, while the San Juan descends to the Southern ocean. An enterprising monk, curate of the

village of *Novita*, caused a canal to be dug by his parishioners, in the ravine *de la Raspadura*. By means of this canal, which becomes navigable by heavy rains, boats loaded with cocoa *have passed from sea to sea*. This then is a communication from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in existence since 1788, and unknown in Europe. The little canal of the Raspadura unites two points on the opposite coast at the distance of seventy-five leagues from each other.'*

One of the most singular, and at the same time most probable consequences of the opening of an effectual communication between the two seas, would be the arrest of the gulf stream. M. de Humboldt is disposed to attach but little moment to the assumed difference of level between the two oceans; and concludes his interesting chapter on this subject, with the remark, that 'when a communication shall be established between the two oceans, the productions of Nootka Sound and of China will be brought nearer, by two thousand leagues, to the United States and to Europe. It is not till this shall be effected, that great changes will be wrought in the political condition of oriental Asia; for this narrow tongue of land, beaten by the waves of the Atlantic ocean, has been for ages the bulwark of China and Japan.' It should be considered, moreover, what this celebrated author has himself hinted, that the effect of such a canal on the world's commerce, would be much influenced by the circumstance, that it would be controlled by the states through which it passes; and in the present condition of navigation, the passage about Cape Horn would not be relinquished, if that of the supposed canal should be much burdened with restrictions. It has been, we believe, an objection to the line of canals through the interior of Scotland, that the cost of insurance about its northern extremity does not equal the toll, which would necessarily be levied on the canal. In estimating the importance of a canal to unite the two oceans, M. de Humboldt has attached a value to the trade of the north west coast of America, beyond perhaps what it ever possessed, or from which, if it ever possessed it, it has certainly been regularly on the decline, since the date of his publication. It is well known, that a single vessel is chartered in this town, to transport all the furs collected at the establishment of the mouth of the Columbia.

The subject of the geological and other natural features of

* Essai Politique *liv.* i. Ch. ii. p. 25. 4to ed.

New Spain, its climate and meteorological phenomena, would furnish interesting matter of remark, but the limits of this sketch oblige us to pass them over. The singular circumstance of the elevation of the table land in Mexico, to which the greater part of the population is confined, deserves, however, to be noticed. One half of the whole surface of Mexico is in the torrid zone. But, as is well known, the degree of heat and cold depends not on the distance from the pole, but on the elevation above the level of the sea, proximity to the sea, and other local circumstances. Under the operation of these circumstances, more than three fifths of those parts of Mexico, which lie in the torrid zone, have a temperate or a cold climate; and a considerable part of the interior of the Mexican viceroyalty constitutes an immense plain, at an elevation above the sea of six or eight thousand feet, and in consequence, is a stranger to the afflictive temperature of the torrid zone. These immense plains, which stretch for hundreds of miles in an unbroken expanse, and at a height equal or superior to that of the Peak of Teneriffe, of mount Cenis, and mount St Gothard are one of the most singular natural features of the country. The neighborhood of the capital is distinguished for a still greater peculiarity, in the rise above each other of four successive plains, each with its peculiar climate and productions. The highest is at an elevation of 8,529 feet above the level of the sea; the second at that of 7,459 feet; the third at that of 6,447; the fourth at that of 3,247. The lower plain is the region of sugar, the second of cotton, the third of European grains, and the fourth of the Agave plantations, the vineyards of the native Mexicans. The climate of the capital of Mexico is mild, and the temperature in winter is that of Naples. In the coldest season, the mean heat is from 55° to 70° of Fahrenheit. M. de Humboldt justly notices the remarkable advantage for the progress of national industry, arising from the height, at which nature, in New Spain, has deposited the precious metals. In Peru, the most considerable silver mines, those of Potosi, Pasco, and Chota are elevated near to the region of perpetual snow. In working them, men, provisions, and cattle must all be brought from a distance. Cities situated in plains, where water freezes the whole year round, and where trees never vegetate, can hardly be an attractive abode. Nothing can determine a free man to abandon the delicious climate of the valleys, to insulate himself on

the top of the Andes, but the hope of amassing wealth. But in Mexico, the richest seams of silver, those of Guanaxuato, Zacatecas, Tasco, and Real del Monte, are at moderate elevations of from 5,500 to 6,500 feet. The mines are surrounded by cultivated fields, towns, and villages; the neighboring summits are crowned with forests; and every thing facilitates the acquisition of this subterraneous wealth.

The population of Mexico is placed in a very favorable point of view, by M. de Humboldt, and one much at variance with the commonly received notions on the subject. We believe it to be the common opinion, that this and the other Spanish conquests in America, were almost wholly depopulated, as far as the native race is concerned, and that an arbitrary government, colonial oppression, and the unfavorable influence on the general condition of a people of an abundance of the precious metals have prevented the increase of a new population. Far otherwise. The native tribes have been replaced under the protection of the Spanish government, and at the present day, near three millions of the natives are found in New Spain, which M. de Humboldt is inclined to think equal, or not much inferior to the amount of this population, on the discovery of Mexico, and instead of diminishing, this race is found to be on the increase. The cruel policy of the *Mita*, whereby it has been so much wasted in Peru, does not here prevail, and the labor of the natives in the mines is perfectly voluntary. The cause of the remarkable contrast between the increase of the Mexican aboriginal population and the rapid decline of the same species of population in the United States, is to be sought in the agricultural habits of the former, and the abundance of the banana, whose spontaneous growth supplies the greater part of their food; while the subsistence of our North American Indians, by hunting, naturally causes them to disappear, as the forests yield to the inroads of agriculture. In addition to this, a marked contrast exists between the warlike temper and habits of our native tribes, and the peaceable disposition of most of the Mexicans.

No attempt at an enumeration of the inhabitants of Mexico was made before the year 1794. It was attempted in that year, by the viceroy Revillagigedo, but it was not entirely completed, and the population of some of the intendencies is given only by conjecture. M. de Humboldt has given a table of the population of Mexico, from the result of this enumera-

tion, preserved in the viceregal archives. In the corner of Mr Robinson's map, is given another table, representing the population of 1816. On what documents it is founded, we are not informed; it agrees, however, in the main with M. de Humboldt's. There are some great differences between these two tables; in particular, that which exists in regard to the population of Yucatan, we must ascribe to typographical error. The population of this province is stated by Humboldt at 358,261, while Mr Robinson gives it at 23,100. The error is in Mr Robinson's map. The population of Yucatan has been estimated as high as 465,800. The population of Puebla is given by Humboldt at 566,443, and by Mr Robinson, at 913,000. This last, we presume, includes Tlascala, which does not appear as a separate name in Mr Robinson's table, and is given by M. de Humboldt at 59,177. Mr Bonnycastle gives the population of Puebla at 813,500. San Luis Potosi, according to M. de Humboldt, has a population of 242,280, and according to Mr Robinson, one of 400,000; Mr Bonnycastle gives it at 334,900; and that of the two Californias is given by Humboldt at 12,666, and by Mr Robinson at 36,200. From the addition of the whole (some of the provinces being given only by estimation,) M. de Humboldt supposes, that in 1793, the population of new Spain was at least 4,483,529. But as authentic data, to which he had access in Mexico, convinced him that the population was rapidly advancing, he has placed it at 5,800,000 for 1803; and in 1806, he states it to exceed 6,500,000.* Soon after the last named period, the troubles in the Spanish American possessions began, by which the progress of population may have been arrested. Whether it it is likely to have been so much diminished, that we ought to fix it with Mr Robinson at 5,660,000 for 1816, is matter of doubt.

Assuming the population to be somewhere between five and six millions, which we are inclined to think a very liberal allowance, the great proportion of one half or nearly one half is supposed to be native Mexican Indians. The remainder consists of Europeans, of *creoles*, or persons of European extraction born in America; of *mestizos*, those born of Spaniards and Indians; *mulattoes*, those born of whites and negroes; *zambos*, the mixture of negroes and Indians, and *negroes*. On the eastern coast are a few Chinese and Malays, who have

* Bonnycastle's Spanish America, i. 21.

found their way to Acapulco, in consequence of the intercourse between that port and Manilla. The European Spaniards amount to about 80,000, and the creoles to about 60,000. The former hold the chief offices, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; and are in general the only well educated portion of the community. This leads to a great jealously between them and the creoles. There are very few slaves in Mexico; he whole number being given by M. de Humboldt at 10,000, of whom 6,000 are negroes, and 4,000 indians from hostile tribes on the northern frontiers, taken prisoners in war. The mass of the native Mexican population is free, being subject to no service or burden, but the capitation tax of about two dollars a head. They labor, however, under great civil disabilities, and intermarriage is forbidden between them and the whites. Some of them, according to M. de Humboldt, are in possession of great fortunes; although they retain the exterior appearance of poverty. By the plan of a constitution, promulgated by Gen. Iturbide at Yguala, Feb. 24, 1821, 'all the inhabitants of New Spain, without distinction of Africans, Europeans, or Indians, are citizens of the new monarchy, with eligibility to all employments, according to their virtues and merits.'

In his chapter on the checks of population, M. de Humboldt gives an interesting account of the diseases of New Spain, particularly small pox, yellow fever, a destructive sort of plague, to which the Indians alone are subject, called *matlazahuatl*, and the diseases resulting from famine. We have not, however, time to engage in this subject. The progress of the small pox has been much diminished, by vaccination, and the very curious circumstance is mentioned, that the effect of the cow pox as an antidote to small pox was, before the discovery of Dr Jenner, familiarly known to the peasantry among the Peruvian Andes, who had observed that those employed in milking cows in the Cordilleras, caught from these animals a mild cutaneous disease, which prevented their taking small pox. It is well known that the belief in this fact among the peasantry in Gloucestershire led Dr Jenner to his discovery.

The religion of New Spain is declared in the above named instrument to be exclusively the Roman catholic. It is somewhat ominous to the cause of freedom in the new state that the first article in this constitution is, that 'no religion but the Roman catholic is *tolerated*.' We presume this sacrifice was

found necessary to engage the clergy in the cause, whose power, if it equal their revenues, must be of great moment in the state. The ecclesiastical establishment consists of the archbishop of Mexico, and eight bishops; viz. those of Puebla, Guadalaxara, of Valladolid, Durango, Monterey, Oaxaca, Sonora, and Yucatan or Merida.

Their revenue is raised by tithes, and is given by M. de Humboldt as follows.*

Archbishop of Mexico,	- - -	$130,000
Bishop Puebla,	- - -	110,000
Valladolid,	- - -	100,000
Guadalaxara,	- - -	90,000
Durango,	- - -	35,000
Monterey,	- - -	30,000
Yucatan,	- - -	20,000
Oaxaca,	- - -	18,000
Sonora,	- - -	6,000

The hierarchy of Mexico is accordingly one of the richest in the world, and will, we apprehend, in the progress of things be one of the first of the old institutions to undergo a reform. The bishop of Puebla is at present at the head of the provisional government.

The riches of the Mexican soil, exclusive of the precious metals, are well known to be unsurpassed by those of any other region. Among the agricultural products are those, which might doubtless become the source of greater wealth, than all the mines of silver and gold. Mexico produces wheat, maize, cotton, indigo, pimento, sugar, tobacco, the agave, cocoa, and the cochineal plant. It has the banana, the principal article of food for the poor peasantry, and the manioc, which yields the cassava bread, and possesses the valuable property

* This table is copied into the corner of Mr Robinson's map, as a part of that 'information, which, having had from respectable sources, and being confirmed by his own observations, he thinks entitled to much confidence.' Among others, to which Mr R. applies this remark, are the following very instructive statements 'The Europeans in New Spain are to the natives as is to 85. The proportion of births to the population is as to 5. The proportion of deaths to the population is as to 34.' The following valuable table is also found in the corner of Mr Robinson's map, published in 1819.

'Population of the Missouri territory, in 1817,
Do in the state of Louisiana, do
Do in the state of Mississippi, do
Do in the Alabama territory, do

of resisting the attacks of insects. It produces the potato, tomatas, rice, and the ordinary esculents of Europe; and on the table land the European fruit trees, such as plumbs, apricots, figs, cherries, peaches, melons, pears, and apples, are successfully cultivated. The olive and the vine are checked by nothing, but the illiberal policy of the mother country, which thinks it necessary to discourage their growth in the colonies, for the sake of protecting the wine and oil of Spain. Besides these, the tropical productions, as guavas, ananas, sapotes, mameis, oranges, and lemons; vanilla, sasaparilla, and jalap, (which takes the name from the town of Xalapa, where it is found,) odoriferous gums, medicinal plants, and drugs, the dying woods, such as logwood, the fine woods for furniture, the silk-worm, honey and wax, and the pearl fishery of the coast of California, contribute their respective shares to the natural wealth of this favored region.

But the most celebrated source of wealth in this region is the gold and silver mines. The eleventh chapter of M. de Humboldt's political essay is devoted to this subject, and is one of the most elaborate and interesting in his work. Mr Bonnycastle has condensed into a few pages the most prominent general statements. The Mexican mines are, it is well known, the richest in the world; and have long approved themselves as such, notwithstanding the imperfect and wasteful manner in which they have been wrought. Much improvement, however, has taken place in this respect during the last generation. The directors of the mines have, in some instances, been sent to the school of Freiberg, near Dresden, for education, and the school of the mines in the city of Mexico itself is now on a footing to compare advantageously with any similar institution in the world. The amalgamation and other processes introduced with such success by Werner, at Freiberg, as to prevent the mines in that district from being deserted, are fully adopted in Mexico; and should it be possible effectually to introduce the steam engine, which the comparative want of fuel makes questionable, there is little doubt that, with the return of a settled order of things, the value of the mines will vastly increase.

The mining *stations* for gold and silver in New Spain amount to five hundred, and Humboldt supposes the number of mines, in all these stations, to be three thousand. The best and most productive of the silver mines are found at a height

above the level of the sea of from 5,900 to 9,840 feet. Three mines alone have produced more than half as much again as all the rest put together. These are the mines of Guanaxuato, Catorce, and Zacatecas. The quantity of silver exported from New Spain to Europe and India *per annum* is about one million six hundred and fifty thousand pounds weight.

Gold is generally procured by washings. It is found in abundance in the alluvial regions of Sonora, in the sands of Hiaqui, and in Pimeria, where grains of a very large size have been discovered. It is also found in the mines of Oaxaca and elsewhere in veins. The produce of gold in New Spain is stated by M. de Humboldt to amount, in the most favorable years, to one million of dollars, and the produce of the silver to twenty-two millions of dollars. Mr Robinson gives the annual coinage of gold at 14,000,000, and of silver at 50,000,000 of dollars. Mr Wilcocks makes the annual amount of gold and silver $28,000,000; and we have heard it stated in a private quarter, which we think entitled to confidence, to amount to $32,000,000 in the best years. According to the letter of Mr Wilcocks, it has been excessively reduced in consequence of the disturbed state of the country, and will this year amount to not more than four millions of dollars.

The richest mine in America, and of consequence in the world, is the *Valenciana*, one of the mines of Guanaxuato. The principal vein of silver ore, in this mine, is twenty-two feet in breadth; and as it is quite dry, it is wrought at much less expense, than the majority of the American mines. We have thought our readers would be amused with an account of this mine somewhat in detail, in the words of M. de Humboldt. 'The Valenciana,' says he,* 'offers an example almost unique of a mine, which for forty years has never yielded its proprietors less than two or three millions of francs (400,000 or 600,000 dollars) annual profit. It appears that the portion of the vein of Guanaxuato, which runs from Tepeyac to the northwest, had been partially wrought to the close of the sixteenth century. Since that period, this whole region had been neglected, and it was not till 1760, that a Spaniard, who had gone very young to America, attacked the vein in one of the points, which had been hitherto thought destitute of silver. M. Obregon, for this was his name, was without fortune; but enjoying a good reputation, he found friends, who, from time

* Tom. II. 528.

to time, advanced him small sums to continue his labors. In 1766, the operations had reached a depth of two hundred sixty feet, and the expenses of working the mine still exceed, by far, its product. Possessing the same passion for mines that others have for gaming, Mr Obregon preferred subjecting himself to any privation, rather than abandon the enterprize. In 1767, he entered into partnership with a small merchant of Rayas, named Otéro, little thinking that, in a few years, he and his friend were to become the richest individuals in Mexico, perhaps in the world. In 1768 the mine began to yield a large amount of metal. As the shafts were wrought lower, they approached the region, already described as the deposit of the immense mineral wealth of Guanaxuato. In 1771 immense masses of sulphuretted silver, mixed with native silver and red silver ore, were derived from this mine. Since this period to 1804, the Valenciana has not ceased to yield annually the enormous sum stated above. There have been years so productive, that the net profit of the two proprietors of the mines has amounted to $1,200,000. M. Obregon, better known as the count de la Valenciana, preserved, in the possession of this immense wealth, that simplicity of manners, and frankness of character, which distinguished him in less prosperous circumstances. When he first attacked the vein, above the ravine San Xavier, the wild goats wandered on the hill, where, ten years after, he saw a village of seven or eight thousand inhabitants. Since the death of the old count, and of his friend Don Pedro Luciano Otéro, the property of the mine has been divided among several families. It exists in twenty-four shares, of which ten belong to the descendants of the count Valenciana, twelve to the family of Otéro, and two to the family of Santana. I knew at Mexico two sons of M. Otéro, minors, of which each had a capital of $1,300,000, exclusive of the annual produce of their share in the mines, which was $80,000 to each. We must be still more surprised at the constancy and equality of the produce of the mine de la Valenciana, when we reflect that the abundance of rich mines has considerably diminished, and that the expenses of working them have advanced in a frightful progression, after the shafts attain a depth of 1640 feet. The sinking and walling up of the three old shafts cost the first count of Valenciana near $1,200,000.'

'To form an idea of the immense expense of working the mine,

it is sufficient to state, that in its present condition it requires annually,

For workmen of various sorts employed in the mine, $680,000
For powder, tallow, wood, copper, steel, and other requisite supplies, - - - 900,000

$1,580,000

The consumption of powder amounts to $80,000 a year, and that of steel for instruments of mining to $30,000. The number of laborers in the interior of the mine is 1800; and adding 1300 men, women, and children, who are employed in labors directly connected with the mine, the number amounts to 3100. The direction of the mine is entrusted to an administrator, who has $12,000 salary a year, and through whose hands $1,200,000 pass. This administrator, who is under no check whatever, has below him one miner, three sub-miners, and nine master-miners. These officers visit the works daily, *carried by men*, who have a sort of saddle attached to the back, and are called little horses, *cavallitos*.'

Such is the most productive of the American mines. M. de Humboldt's chapter contains a number of very curious and instructive researches on every point of interest connected with them, particularly on the whole amount of the precious metals, which have passed from America to Europe and the east, since 1492 up to 1803, and which he estimates from the best data at 5445 millions of dollars. We will only add a fact, perhaps not generally known, that of all the mines in America, the government possesses but one, that of Huancavelica in Peru, which has been long abandoned, and which formerly yielded a large quantity of mercury. The mines are all the property of individuals, who receive from government the *concession*, as it is called, of a certain extent on a vein or stratum, on the condition of paying a percentage on the produce of the mine. This percentage amounts on an average to $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the silver, and 3 per cent. on the gold. Had the boundary of the United States been established to be the Rio bravo del Norte, as it was claimed to be till the late Florida treaty, our territory would have been brought within a short distance of the capital of Mexico, and would have included some of the richest silver mines, in the government of San Luis Potosi.

We cannot forbear to make an extract from M. de Humboldt's

work, for the sake of showing the progress of refinement in the capital of Mexico. We quote from the translation of Mr Black, the value of which is diminished by the ineffectual attempts of its author to illustrate, confirm, and correct M. de Humboldt's statements, in his own notes.*

'No city of the new continent, without even excepting those of the United States of America, can display such great and solid scientific establishments as the capital of Mexico. I shall content myself here with naming the school of mines, directed by the learned Elhuyar, the botanic garden, and the academy of painting and sculpture. This academy bears the title of *Academia de los nobles artes de Mexico.* It owes its existence to the patriotism of several Mexican individuals, and to the protection of the minister Galvez. The government assigned it a spacious building, in which there is a much finer and more complete collection of casts, than is to be found in any part of Germany. We are astonished on seeing that the Apollo Belvedere, the group of the Laocoon and still more colossal statues have been conveyed through mountainous roads at least as narrow as those of St Gothard; and we are surprised to find these masterpieces of antiquity collected together under the torrid zone, in table land, higher than the convent of the great St Bernard. The collection of casts brought to Mexico cost the king $40,000. The revenues of the academy of fine arts at Mexico amount to $25,000 a year, toward which the government gives $12,000, the body of the Mexican miners near $5,000, the *consulado,* or body of merchants in the capital, more than $3000 a year. It is impossible not to perceive the influence of this establishment on the tastes of the nation. This influence is particularly visible in the symmetry of the buildings, in the perfection with which the hewing of stone is conducted, and in the ornaments of the capitals and stucco relievos. What a number of beautiful edifices are to be seen at Mexico, nay even in the provincial towns like Guanaxuato and Queretaro! These monuments, which frequently cost a million or half a million francs, would appear to advantage in the finest streets of Paris, Berlin, and St Petersburg. M. Tolsa, professor of sculpture at Mexico,

* M. de Humboldt having had occasion to make use of the distinction of the *race of Caucasus,* so familiar to the continental physiologists of the present day, his translator appends the following judicious note to the expression, 'Who are individuals of the race of Caucasus? The Europeans. So at least we learn from the context, where they are opposed to the Mexican Indians. This involves the theory of the mountains of Asia being the nursery of the old continent. Every one, however, will not so easily be able to understand Europeans, by this denomination. *Such attempts to elevate the style, at the expense of perspicuity, can never enough be reprobated!*' It is with some reason, therefore, that the translator has observed, 'that he does not suppose his notes to be of any great importance.'

was even able to cast an equestrian statue of Charles IV, a work which, with the exception of the Marcus Aurelius at Rome, surpasses in beauty and purity of style every thing which remains in this way in Europe. Instruction is communicated *gratis* at the academy of fine arts. It is not confined alone to the drawing of landscapes and figures; they have had the good sense to employ other means for the excitement of national industry. The academy labors successfully to introduce among the artisans a taste for elegance and beautiful forms. Large rooms, well lighted by Argand lamps, contain every evening some hundreds of young people, of whom some draw from relievo or living models, while others copy drawings of furniture, chandeliers, or other ornaments in bronze. In this assemblage (and this is very remarkable in the midst of a country, where the prejudices of the nobility against the *casts* are so inveterate) rank, color, and race are confounded; we see the Indian and the *Mestizo* sitting beside the white, and the son of a poor artisan, in emulation with the children of the great lords of the country.'

Many other facts produced by M. de Humboldt, prove the progress which has been made in Mexico in those refinements thought peculiar to old countries; but we must haste to close this sketch, with one or two additional statistical statements. We have already stated the annual produce of the mines, before the confused state of things now existing, at $23,000,000 annually. The disorder of the government, and the difficulties attending the importation of mercury for the amalgamation process, have reduced this to $4,000,000 or $5,000,000. Of the amount in value of other natural productions, we have but partial information. M. de Humboldt gives the annual amount of the Mexican sugar at $1,300,000. The amount of all sorts of manufactures is estimated by him at seven or eight millions of dollars. The importations of articles of foreign growth or manufacture, amounted, in 1804, to $20,000,000; and the exportation, exclusive of the produce of the mines, to $6,000,000. The gross revenue amounted to $20,000,000, of which 5,000,000 were from the gold and silver mines, 4,000,000 from the monopoly of tobacco, 3,000,000 impost, 1,300,000 capitation tax of indians, and 800,000 excise on the fermented juice of the agave.

We shall close this article, by a brief narrative of the late revolution in Mexico, taken principally from the letter of Mr Wilcocks to the Secretary of State, which is published among the documents accompanying the president's message. This

gentleman was well qualified by a long residence in the country, and an intimate acquaintance with it acquired by visiting various parts of it and conversing intimately with all classes of people, to give an intelligible and authentic history of this important event.

The Mexican viceroyalty was at the height of its prosperity at the time of the breaking out of the revolution in 1810. The population, now, it is said, reduced to four millions, then amounted to six. The royal revenue exceeded twenty millions of dollars, and the money coined annually at the mint, was, according to Mr Wilcocks, upwards of twenty eight millions. The revenue is now reduced to half what it was, and the money coined yearly to from five to eight millions, and the present year will not exceed four. Such were the consequences of a bloody and devastating war, which was carried on between the Americans and Spaniards. Among the most active officers, who supported the royal cause, was Don Augustin Iturbide, then a colonel of the regiment of Celaya, a native of Valladolid, in the province of Mechoacan, but born of European parents. The contest was maintained for four or five years with great animation, and an exterminating spirit on both sides, until the capture and death of Morelos, the republican leader, in the latter part of the year 1815. From that time the royal cause obtained an entire ascendency. The people, however, were not subdued. Many leaders kept the field at the head of small bodies of men, from three hundred to a thousand strong, and the whole country was infested with bands of robbers. This state of things continued until the arrival of the viceroy Apodaca, in September 1816.

'To this disinterested, good, and virtuous man,' says Mr Wilcocks, 'is due the pacification of the kingdom; his penetration, skill, and humanity having suggested to him the propriety of laying aside the arms that had hitherto been in use, and of winning the affections of the people by means of persuasion, pardons, and premiums, who without general officers, money, or any immediate expectation of establishing the liberty of their country, and weary of the wandering and wretched life they had so long endured, embraced readily the opportunity that presented of returning to the bosom of their families. No sooner was the plan adopted, than its wisdom became palpable. Entire towns and districts yielded to the solicitations of the agents appointed by the government for carrying it into execution, so that at the end of two years, all was tranquillity, and you could travel in every direc-

tion without escort of arms, except that of Acapulco, between which, and this city, [Mexico] the chieftains Guerrero, Asenio, and a colonel Bradburn of Virginia, that came with general Mina with about fifteen hundred men, had taken refuge and fortified an almost inaccessible mountain, from whence they made predatory excursions.'

For the purpose of reducing this party of insurgents, Iturbide was appointed to the command of the department of the south, and placed at the head of three thousand veteran troops, whose head quarters were at Yguala. This took place a few months after news had been received in Mexico of the revolution in Spain, by which the constitution was restored. This event created great alarm among the clergy and some other classes of people, who apprehended from it the destruction of their forms of religion. The constitution was not cordially acknowledged by the viceroy, and the reluctance, with which he submitted to it, disaffected many of his friends, and emboldened the Americans to renew their demand for independence. Iturbide had the penetration and the boldness to seize upon this crisis for securing the independence of the country, by a scheme that should unite in support of it the zealous defenders of the Catholic religion, the adherents of royalty, and the friends of liberty. He concerted his measures with the clergy, and secured their cooperation by assurance of of protection to their privileges and immunities. He secured also the cooperation of several of the governors of provinces, and on his arrival at Yguala, persuaded a great part of the troops under his command to join him in the undertaking, in the belief that the members of the government who were known to be opposed to the constitution, secretly favored it. He then communicated his design to Guerrero, Asenio, and Bradburn, who pledged themselves to support him.

Thus prepared, he made a public declaration of the independence of the kingdom, and swore it in a solemn manner at the head of his army at Yguala, Feb. 24, 1821, and at the same time, he seized and appropriated '*to the use of the nation* a convoy of about a million of dollars, which fortunately for him, was proceeding to Acapulco, to be embarked on board a ship bound to Manilla. He published at the same time what is called the *Plan of Yguala*, consisting of twenty four articles, announced as the basis of the constitution to be established by the Cortes, when it should be assembled. The leading

articles of this plan, are the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion without *tolerating* any other; the entire independence of New Spain; that the government shall be a moderate monarchy with a constitution adapted to the empire; that king Ferdinand VII shall be emperor, if he will accept the appointment and come in person to Mexico to take the oath, and if not, some other member of the reigning family; that all the inhabitants of New Spain, without distinction, Africans, Europeans, and Indians are citizens of the monarchy, with eligibility to all employments, according to their virtues or merits; that the person and property of every citizen shall be respected and protected; that the clergy, secular and regular, shall preserve all its privileges and preeminences; that all officers, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, shall remain on their present footing, with the exception that those shall be removed, who decline entering into the plan; and that the army should be formed under the style of the army of the three guarantees, from the protection it undertook to give to the Catholic religion, to the independence of the empire, and to the indissoluble union between the Americans and Europeans. Iturbide sent a copy of this plan to the viceroy, inviting him and the government to assist in its establishment. He named the viceroy, the Conde de Cortina, and the president of the Royal audience to compose the regency, and reserved to himself the command of the national army.

It is supposed that the viceroy was inclined personally to accede to the proposal, but his council, consisting of the members of the various tribunals of which the government was composed, as well as the principal military officers, were unanimously in favor of maintaining the existing government. Apodaca refused his consent to the violent and cruel measures which were proposed, and offered an amnesty to all the insurgents except Iturbide. The field marshal Linan was appointed commander in chief of the royal troops, and a numerous staff and formidable army were committed to his charge.

Iturbide in the mean time sent a detachment of his army, which took possession of the town and castle of Acapulco, and marched with the remainder in the direction of Valladolid. The people in all parts rose to support the cause of independence. An army was formed in the provinces of la Puebla and Vera Cruz, by colonels Herrera, Bravo, and Santana,

which took possession of the cities of Orizaba, Cordova, and Jalapa. At the two former of these cities, the independents took possession of a large sum in specie, besides a very large quantity of tobacco, in the government depots, the proceeds of which had been relied upon by the government as its principal means of supporting the war. The army of Iturbide soon increased to the number of five or six thousand men. He took possession of several of the principal cities in the kingdom, and was joined by their garrisons. He abstained as much as possible from violent offensive operations, and from shedding blood. In the subsequent military movements, the independents were almost uniformly successful. A clear narrative of these operations is given by Mr Wilcocks. After a short period, the principal part of the royal army was ordered to Mexico for the defence of the capital, and the male inhabitants of the city, from sixteen years of age to fifty, were ordered to be enrolled as militia, without exception or distinction of persons.

While these events were transpiring, a strong prejudice had been excited in a portion of the community against the viceroy Apodaca, and a report was circulated that he was in secret correspondence with Iturbide. A conspiracy was formed against him, which on the 5th of July was carried into execution. The palace of the viceroy was assaulted and he was made prisoner. The political and military command was given to field marshal Don Francisco Novella, and it was announced by papers posted at the corners of the streets, that Apodaca had resigned in his favor. The new leader was a man of an exclusively military education, and not qualified for the station which he was compelled to assume. He created a body to assist in the administration of the government, called the *Junta Consultiva*, consisting of individuals who had assisted in placing the power in his hands. Their proceedings were violent and tyrannical in the extreme.

Iturbide besieged Puebla, the second city in the kingdom, with so powerful a force, that in a short time, notwithstanding the strenuous exertions of the government to preserve it, it capitulated. He then moved a part of his army, consisting of eighteen thousand veteran troops, all disciplined in the king's service, to the neighborhood of the capital. Novella, although urged to surrender the city, and assured that he could not rely on the fidelity of more than a third of the troops

that composed the garrison, was determined on making an obstinate defence. The calamities which were apprehended at this juncture were prevented by the fortunate arrival and prudent conduct of a new viceroy from Spain. The course adopted by this office is thus related by Mr Wilcocks.

'Iturbide, after having rested a few days in Puebla, and partaken of the effusion of gratitude manifested towards him by the good people of that city, was on the point of leaving it, with the intention of fixing his head quarters near the town of Chalco, and directing from thence the attack that was to have been made on Mexico, when he received a letter from lieutenant-general Don Juan O'Donoju, who had recently arrived at Vera Cruz, informing him that he had been named by the king of Spain, captain-general and political chief of the kingdom, and had accepted the appointment at the solicitation of his friends, the representatives of America in the cortes of Spain; that he had risked his health and life, and sacrificed his convenience, at a period when he intended to retire from the public service, without any other desire than that of acquiring the love and esteem of the people of New Spain, and without other sentiments than those of tranquillizing the disastrous inquietude that reigned in the kingdom; not by consolidating or perpetuating the despotism that existed, or prolonging the colonial dependence, nor falling into the errors or imitating the defects of many of his predecessors, in supporting a system of government, the tyranny and injustice of which arose from the barbarity of the age in which it was established, but by reforming the ideas of the misled, calming the passions of the exasperated, and pointing out to the people generally the mode of obtaining with security, and without the horrible sacrifice they were making, the happiness which the illustration of the era in which they lived had induced them to seek after, and which no rational person could disapprove; he also required Iturbide to appoint a place at which they could have an interview, and realize the sincere and ardent desire he had to prevent the evils and misfortunes inseparable to a state of hostility, until such time as the treaty they might conclude, founded on the basis of the plan published in Yguala, should be ratified by the king and cortes.

'This letter of O'Donoju, with another that he wrote to Sor. Novella, were sent by Iturbide to the Mexican government, accompanied with a proposal for the suspension of arms, until such times as the definitive treaty should be signed in Cordova, the city named by Iturbide as the point of conference. Novella would, however, hear to nothing of the sort, and the letters were declared spurious, notwithstanding that Sor. Alcocer, a venerable curate of this city, who had been intimately acquainted with O'Donoju in

Spain, proved to the junta the identity of the signatures, by showing others that he had in his possession; which contumacy on the part of Novella exasperated Iturbide so much that he set off for Cordova, leaving orders with his generals for the immediate occupation of the towns of Tacuba, Tacubaya, Azcapuzalco, and Guadalupe, neither of which *were* distant more than half a league from Mexico, and all of them in possession of the European troops.'

A column of fifteen hundred of the independent troops proceeded to attack Azcapuzalco, which was defended by an equal number of royal troops. A bloody and desperate action ensued, the result of which was the loss of six hundred men killed and wounded, and the abandonment of the place by the royalists. A few days afterwards, while measures were taking to drive the Europeans from the towns of Guadalupe, Tacuba, and Tacubaya, ' an aid de camp arrived with a copy of the treaty of Cordova, concluded between general O'Donoju and Iturbide, and an order from the former to Sor. Novella, commanding him to obey him as captain-general of the kingdom, to cause him to be recognized as such by the troops, to cease all hostilities from the instant he should receive the order, and to adopt measures for the evacuation of the city.'

The treaty of Cordova, which was concluded on the 24th of August, *recognized the independence of New Spain*, and confirmed in substance the plan of Yguala. It contained also some additional provisions for carrying this plan into effect. It was stipulated that commissioners should be appointed to go to the court of Spain, to lay a copy of the treaty before the king, and offer him the crown, and if he declined it, to make the same offer to the other princes, in the order in which they were named; that there should be immediately appointed a provisional junta of government, composed of the first men of the empire, who should administer the government according to the existing laws in every thing not opposed to the plan of Yguala, until the formation of a constitution by the cortes; that the junta of government should appoint a regency composed of three persons, in whom should be vested the executive power, and who should govern in the name of the monarch, until he shall take the sceptre of the empire; and that the regency should immediately, after being appointed, proceed to the convocation of the cortes. It was also stipulated that O'Donoju should use his authority, that the troops which occu-

pied the capital should retire, by an honorable capitulation, without the effusion of blood.

Novella and his advisers still affected to doubt the fact of O'Donoju's arrival in the kingdom, and the authenticity of the treaty of Cordova, alleging that all might be a stratagem of Iturbide, and on this pretext he refused to evacuate the city. Some of the municipal bodies, however, who had with reluctance acknowledged his authority, compelled him to send one of the junta consultiva to ascertain the identity of the captain-general. This envoy was fully satisfied of the necessity of yielding to the command of the new viceroy.

'By this time,' says Mr Wilcocks, 'Novella was also inclined to succumb, and would have renounced his employ, had it not been for fear of the troops, he having lost all authority, and they having usurped the command, so that the city was in the utmost anarchy and confusion, and dreading at every instance a dreadful massacre and pillage, with which it had been threatened daily for near a month, and which would most assuredly have succeeded, had it not been for the proximity and number of the independent army, that cut off all possibility of escape for the European troops, whose idea was to commit all sorts of enormity, rob what they could, and take the road for Vera Cruz. Things had got to that pass, that it was impossible to confide in a servant, and dangerous to do so in a friend. Every thing like social intercourse was at an end. Those that could with any sort of convenience leave the city fled, and those that were obliged to remain sought security in their houses; so that, in this once populous metropolis, there was scarce a soul to be seen. In this state of things, the generals O'Donoju and Iturbide arrived at Tacubaya, and the former had an interview with Sor. Novella, in the course of which he gave him to understand the impropriety of his conduct in resisting the legitimate authority as long as he did, the impossibility of defending the city, and the certainty of the massacre of the Europeans, should it be taken by assault; remonstrated with him respecting the insubordination of the troops, pointed out to him the illegality of their conduct, and enjoined him to prevent the effusion of blood, by exercising the little influence he had with the subaltern officers and soldiers, in the understanding that he would not take upon him to scrutinize their conduct in the arrest of the late viceroy, but leave them to exculpate themselves in the best way they could on arriving in Spain. The following day news was received of the surrender of the cities Durango and Vera Cruz to general Negrete, after an obstinate resistance, in the course of which many lives were lost, and of the declaration of independence in the western internal provinces, under the command of field-marshal

Alexo Garcia Conde, so that if the soldiers of Novella had before any hope, it now entirely disappeared, and, in order to avoid a disgraceful capitulation, were obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of general O'Donoju, obey his orders by evacuating the city, and march to that of Toluca, there to wait until it was convenient for them to embark.'

The declaration, soon after these events, of the province of Merida de Yucatan, and the surrender of two or three fortified towns, completed the independence of the kingdom. The castle of Vera Cruz was the only place which refused to surrender. The province of Guatimala has also declared in favor of independence, and expressed a wish to become a part of the Mexican empire, and it is expected that its example will be followed by the other provinces of the captain-generalship of Guatimala.

'I shall now,' observes Mr Wilcocks, on closing his narrative, 'take the liberty to add a few remarks, and to say, in the first place, that the revolution, which I have attempted to describe, is not one of those that have been accomplished by means of unbridled passions, cruelty, rancor, or revenge, but, on the contrary, has, from its commencement, been accompanied with brotherly love, patriotism, disinterestedness, truth, and good faith, so that the more I reflect on its origin and progress, the more is my admiration excited, and the more am I tempted to exclaim, that America has produced two of the greatest heroes that ever existed, *Washington* and *Iturbide*. Secondly, that the new government is established on a sure and solid foundation, the people being highly delighted with it, and the subordinate chiefs, officers and soldiers, having one and all implicitly followed the example of moderation, set them by their magnanimous leader, who to obviate strife, envy, and emulation, has absolutely refused the crown, and insisted that the emperor shall come from Spain, as he first proposed in the town of Yguala. Indeed, the plan there published has been adhered to, with the most religious scrupulosity, except the slight variations made in it by the treaty of Cordova, at the suggestion of general O'Donoju, and the empire is in consequence governed by a regency of five of its most distinguished and enlightened statesmen, (who have elected general Iturbide president, and appointed him commander in chief of the land and sea forces,) and by a convention of thirty-six of the principal personages in the empire, as respects talents, rank, and riches. The independence is to be sworn in this city [Mexico] on the 27th instant, [October, 1821] and the cortes are to meet on the 24th of February next, the anniversary of the declaration in Yguala. In the

mean time, the convention will be employed in enacting the most salutary decrees, and among those already passed are one declaring *the commerce of this empire free to all nations;* another doing away all the arbitrary taxes, impositions, and excises imposed by the former government; a third reducing the duties from sixteen to six per cent.; a fourth for the encouragement of the miners, relinquishing to them the quota of silver formerly paid to the king, with other imports, amounting to seventeen per cent.,* so that many poor minerals, that could not be worked before, can now be used to advantage; and a fifth recognizing and making the new government responsible for the debt contracted by the old one, of thirty-six millions of dollars.'

How far it may be proper to class the hero of this revolution with Washington, time will show. At present, it may be regarded as at least premature to give him this exalted rank. His character has not yet been put to the test, which will enable us to pronounce upon it with confidence. We ought not to judge of his conduct by the standard of our republican notions, nor to forget that the people for whom he is called upon to act are not fitted by their education and character, and by the actual exercise of the privileges of freemen, either to govern themselves, or to be governed without the assumption of extensive powers in the chief magistrate. But the almost unlimited authority which Iturbide has reserved to himself, or what, under existing circumstances, is equivalent, which has been granted to him by a decree of the regency, can hardly be reconciled to the idea that he is influenced by no views of personal aggrandizement. He 'refused the crown, and insisted that the emperor should come from Spain;' but he has retained the powers of military dictator, yielding to the emperor but the shadow of sovereignty. In the decree above alluded to, founded on a law of the junta of provisional government, the powers granted to Iturbide as admiral-generalissimo, are enumerated in fifteen articles, the first of which is in the following words. 'He shall have command of the forces by sea and land, comprehending in his government the economical and administrative, according to the laws; consequently, all propositions of office, in both branches, shall pass through his hand, of officers and chiefs, from those of brigadier, inclusive, downwards, in the land army, and the equivalents in the

* We are not able to say with what correctness the duties on the mines, given by Humboldt at eleven and a half per cent, are made to amount, by Mr Wilcocks, to over seventeen per cent.

other branches. He shall propose also for the governments, of garrisons, commanders of provinces, captains-general, and shall countersign the despatches of all these offices, receiving them from the emperor, and passing them to the secretary of war for their progress.' He is besides to have the direction of military colleges, the inspection of the manufacture of gunpowder, arms, munitions and clothing; the charge of every thing relating to arsenals, artillerists, and manufactures belonging to the marine; to watch over the disbursement of the military treasury for sea and land, and the distribution of the funds of these branches; to be the protector of commerce, navigation, police, and the works of the ports; to grant passports and licenses for navigation, according to the orders of the emperor; he is to have the title of highness, and a guard of two companies of infantry with a banner, which shall present arms, and beat a march. His guard is only to do honors to the persons the imperial family. When he goes out, four body guards are to go before, and an escort of twenty men behind. In the court and residence of the emperor, the posts of the place are to do him correspondent honors. On his entrance to and departure from the fortresses and garrisons, the troops are to be drawn up, and the artillery to salute him with twenty-one guns, 'he having in every thing, by sea and land, supreme military honors.' That with these powers, at the head of an army devoted to him, and with the tide of popular opinion in his favor, he will be the actual sovereign, and that the nominal emperor, a stranger, and without a single tie to bind the people to him, will be entirely dependent, is sufficiently evident.

This remark on the uncertainty of general Iturbide's character may be still farther extended. Nothing can be more futile, than to indulge in conjectures as to the final result of the individual measures, which have hitherto been taken. That the general consequence of the revolutionary movements will be the independence of Mexico, can scarcely be doubted by any one, who surveys the proceedings of the cortes at Madrid, or of the royal viceroy O'Donoju. Equally indisputable we hold it to be, that the independence of Mexico, and of the other South American colonies, in proportion as it shall be finally established and recognized by the leading powers of the world, will give a spring and animation to commerce, scarcely, if at all inferior, to that which resulted from the original discovery of this region.

NOTE.

Our strictures upon the Idle Man, Art. XVII, were already in the press, before the fifth number had made its appearance. It is but just to the author to mention this circumstance, as some objections, urged in that article, do not apply to this last number, which, nevertheless, forms a very considerable proportion of the whole work. It is true, the same affectation of manner, although probably from accident in a much slighter degree, is imputable to it; nor do we think it more fortunate in hitting the natural vein of light familiar dialogue. But it differs from the preceding numbers in the exhibition of various character, and in the animating bustle of its action. It abounds in rich description, and has moreover several scenes of considerable dramatic power; and (what is of importance to its success) we think it will fasten more strongly upon the sympathies of the reader, than any of the former narratives. We are pleased to learn from his advertisement, that he has projected a story upon a more extended plan, and we trust that he will neither force nor curtail it, in accommodating it to the arbitrary formalities of a periodical publication.

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*** A review of 'the Spy' has been necessarily omitted in this number of the North American Review, and will appear in the next.

ERRATA.

Page 362, last line, *dele* the stop at the end.
" 375, 5th line, *for* ' apside,' *read* ' apsis.'
" 396, 1st " " ' these,' " ' those.'

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